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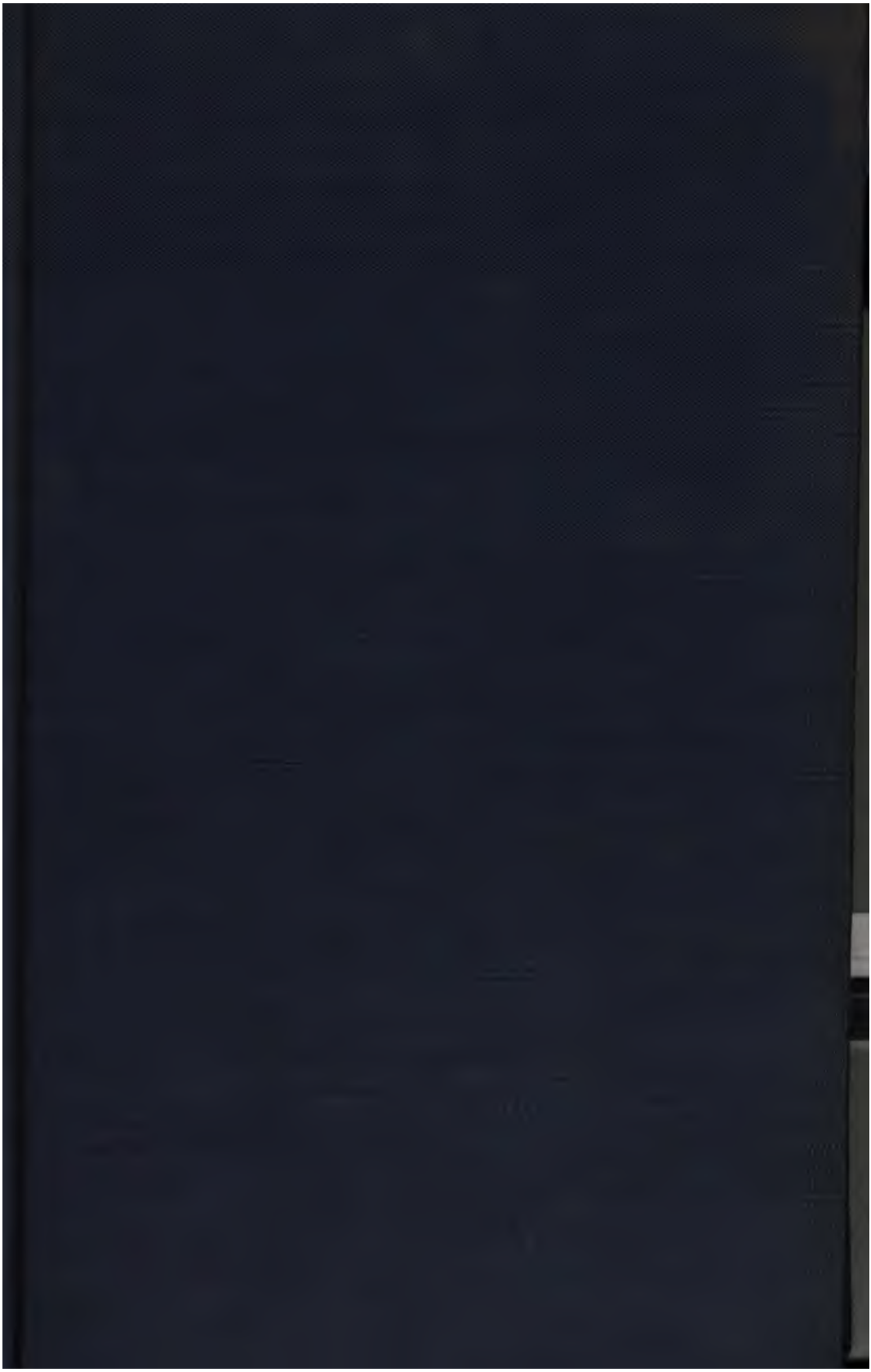

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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of Church-Power, are considered in their Connexion with the State of Learning and Philosophy, and the Political History of Europe during that Period;

BY THE LATE LEARNED

Joachim Lorenz

JOHN LAURENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN;

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES, CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND AN APPENDIX,

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION IN SIX VOLUMES,

CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY CHARLES COOTE, LL.D.

AND FURNISHED WITH

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BY THE RIGHT REV.

DR. GEORGE GLEIG OF STIRLING.

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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY;

BOOK THE FOURTH,

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER

TO

THE PRESENT TIMES.

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INTRODUCTION.

Change of method.

I. THE order and method, that have been followed in the former part of this work, cannot be continued, without the greatest inconvenience, in this fourth book, which relates to the modern history of the church. From the commencement of the sixteenth century, the face of religion was remarkably changed; the divisions, that had formerly perplexed the church, increased considerably; and the Christian societies, that relinquished the established forms of divine worship, and erected themselves into separate assemblies, upon principles different from those of the Roman hierarchy, rapidly multiplied. This circumstance renders it impossible to present in one connected series, or, as it were, in one continued tablature, the events, vicissitudes, and revolutions, which happened in the church, divided its members, and enfeebled the dominion of its tyrants. From the period on which we now enter, the bond of union among Christians, that had been formed by a blind obedience to the Roman pontiff, was in almost every country, either dissolved, or at least relaxed; and consequently this period of our history must be divided into a multitude of branches, into as many parts, as there were famous sects that arose in this century.

The history of the church in this century may be divided into two general heads.

II. It is however proper to observe here, that many of the events, which distinguish this century, had a manifest relation to the church in general, and not to any Christian society in particular; and, as these events deserve to be mentioned separately, on account of their remarkable tendency to throw a light upon the state of Christianity in general, as well as upon the history of each Christian society, we shall divide this fourth book into two main and

principal parts, of which the one will contain the *General* and the other the *Particular History of the Christian Religion.*

The general history of the church—its extent.

III. To the *General History* belong all those events which relate to the state of Christianity, considered in itself and in its utmost extent, to the Christian church viewed in the general, and abstracted from the miserable and multiplied divisions into which it was rent by the passions of men. Under this head we shall take notice of the advancement and progress of Christianity in general, without any regard to the particular sects that were thus instrumental in promoting its interests; nor shall we omit the consideration of certain doctrines, rites, and institutions, which appeared worthy of admission to all, or at least to the greatest part of the Christian sects, and which consequently produced, in various countries, improvements or changes of greater or less importance.

Particular history.

IV. In the *Particular History* of this century, we propose reviewing, in their proper order, the various sects into which the church was divided. This part of our work, for the sake of method and precision, we shall subdivide into two. In the first we shall comprehend what relates to the more ancient Christian sects, both in the eastern and western hemispheres; while the second will be confined to the history of those more modern societies, the date of whose origin is posterior to the Reformation in Germany. In the accounts that are here to be given of the circumstances, fate, and doctrines of each sect, the method laid down in the introduction to this work shall be rigorously observed, as far as is possible, since it seems best calculated to lead us to an accurate knowlege of the nature, progress, and tenets of every Christian society, that arose in those times of discord.

History of the Reformation.

V. The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and we may add, the most glorious of all the revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time

of its divine and immortal Founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the *Blessed Reformation*. This grand revolution, which arose in Saxony from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also extended its efficacy to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest part both of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of Europe was, in a more especial manner, changed by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive, the inestimable advantages produced by it, and the inconveniences of which it has been the innocent occasion. The history, therefore, of such an important revolution, from which so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connexions are so extensive and so general, demands a peculiar degree of attention, and has an unquestionable right to a distinguished place in such a work as this. We now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the intimated plan and method.

THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

CENT. XVI.

The division of the first section.

I. THE History of the Reformation is too ample and extensive to be comprehended, without some degree of confusion, in the uninterrupted narrative of one Section: we shall therefore divide it into Four Parts.

The first will contain an account of the state of Christianity before the commencement of the Reformation;

The second will give the history of the Reformation from its beginning until the date of the Confession of Augsburg;

The third will exhibit a view of the same history, from this latter period to the commencement of the war of Smalcald; and

The fourth will carry it down to the peace that was concluded with the advocates of the Reformation in the year 1555*. This division is natural; it arises spontaneously from the events themselves.

* The writers of the history of the Reformation, of every rank and order, are enumerated by the very learned Philip Fred. Hane (who himself deserves a most eminent rank in this class), in his Historia Sacrorum a Luthero emendatorum, part i. and by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Centifolium Lutheranum, part ii. cap. clxxxvii. The greatest part, or at least the most eminent, of this list of authors must be consulted by such as desire a farther confirmation or illustration of the matters which I propose to relate briefly in the course of this history. The illustrious names of Sleidan and Seckendorff, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this kind of erudition, are too well known to render it necessary to recommend their works to the perusal of the curious reader.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of the Christian Church before the Reformation.

CENT. XVI.

Things were in a quiet state at the beginning of this century.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century, the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things seemed to be situated, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards, and more recently by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the valleys of Piedmont, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of Europe, which separates the Alps from the Pyrenean mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowlege adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

The complaints against the popes and clergy ineffectual.

II. We must not, however, conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or that their chains were worn without reluctance; for not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the pontiffs, the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their counsels, the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates, the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all

denominations, the inordinate severity and partiality of the Roman laws; and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a *reformation* of the church, in its head and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose [b]. But these complaints and demands were not carried so far as to produce any good effect, since they came from persons who did not entertain the least doubt about the supreme authority of the pope in religious matters, and who, of consequence, instead of attempting, themselves, to bring about that reformation which was so ardently desired, remained entirely inactive, and looked for redress to the court of Rome, or to a general council. As long as the authority of the pontiff was deemed sacred, and his jurisdiction supreme, there could be no reason to expect any considerable reformation either of the corruptions of the church or of the manners of the clergy. CENT. XVI.

III. If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly pontiffs, it was the restoration of learning in Europe, and the number of men of genius that suddenly arose, under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. But even this new scene was insufficient to terrify the lords of the church, or to make them apprehend the decline of their power. It is true, that this happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the The restoration of learning.

[b] These complaints and accusations have been largely enumerated by several writers. See, among many others, Val. Ern. Loescherus, in Actis et Documentis Reformationis, tom. i. cap. v. ix. et Ern. Salom. Cyprian. Præfat. ad Wilk. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reformat. published at Leipsic in 1717.—The grievances complained of by the Germans in particular, are amply mentioned by J. F. Georgius in his Gravamina Imperator. et Nationis German. adversus Sedem Romanam, cap. vii. Nor do the wiser and more learned among the modern Romanists pretend to deny that the church and clergy, before the time of Luther, were corrupt in a very high degree.

CENT. XVI. love of truth and of sacred liberty. It is also certain that many of these great men, such as Erasmus and others, pointed the delicacy of their wit, or leveled the fury of their indignation, at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priesthood, the abuses that reigned in the court of Rome, and the brutish manners of the monastic orders. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the papal jurisdiction and statutes, which were absurdly, yet artfully, sanctified by the title of *canon-law*, or to call in question the ancient and most pernicious opinion, that Christ had established a vicegerent at Rome, clothed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Entrenched within these strong holds, the pontiffs looked upon their own authority and the peace of the church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies. Armed with power to punish, and abundantly furnished with the means of rewarding in the most alluring manner, they were ready, on every commotion, to crush the obstinate, and to gain over the mercenary to their cause; and this indeed could not but contribute considerably to the stability of their dominion.

The popes Alexander VI. Pius III.

IV. Hence it was, that the bishops of Rome lived in the utmost security and ease, and, being free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands of their lusts and passions. Alexander VI., whom humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him on a level with the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of this century by the most atrocious crimes. The world was delivered from this papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed, though there are historians

who attribute his death to sickness and old age[c]. He was succeeded in the pontificate by Pius III., who, in less than a month, was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained by fraud and bribery by Julian de la Rovere, who assumed the denomination of Julius II. CENT. XVI.

V. To the odious list of vices with which Julius II. dishonored the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and phrenetic passion for war and bloodshed. He began his military enterprises by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of France[d]. He afterwards laid siege to Ferrara, and at length turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war, and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer Europe to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a *vicar* of Christ, who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities desolated. Under such a pontiff all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced. Julius II.

VI. Nevertheless, from this dreadful cloud that hung over Europe, some rays of light seemed to break forth, that promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect that reformation in the church which was so generally and so ardently The council of Pisa.

[c] See cent. xv. part ii. chap. ii. sect. xviii. note [q].
[d] See Du Bos, Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

CENT. XVI. desired. Louis XII., king of France, provoked by the insults he had received from this arrogant pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be stricken with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of Rome, which was represented on this coin by the title of Babylon [e]. Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor Maximilian I., assembled, in 1511, a council at Pisa, with an intention to set bounds to the tyranny of this furious pontiff, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious church. Julius, on the other hand, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, and even treated them with mockery and laughter. He did not, however, neglect the methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, that prudence dictated, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the Lateran palace in 1512 [f], in which the decrees of the council of Pisa were condemned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed by the most dire and formidable anathemas against Louis and other princes, had not death carried off this audacious pontiff in 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

Leo X. VII. He was succeeded, in 1513, by Leo X., of the family of Medicis, who, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was equally indifferent about the interests of religion and the advancement of true piety. He was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned, as far as the darkness of the

[e] See B. Christ. Sigismund. Liebii Commentatio de Nummis Ludovici XII. Epigraphe, 'Perdam Babylonis nomen,' insignibus, Leipsic, 1717.—See also Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus, tom. i.—Colonia, Histoire Liter. de la Ville de Lyon, tom. ii.—The authenticity and occasion of this medal have been much disputed, and, as is well known, have afforded matter of keen debate.

[f] Harduini Concilia, tom. ix. p. 1559.

age would admit. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters and pleasure, though it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature. He was remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and imprudence, and has even been charged with impiety, if not atheism. He did not, however, lose sight of the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart,—that of promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see; for he took the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the Lateran council, (which Julius had assembled and left sitting,) that had the least tendency to favor the reformation of the church; and, in a conference which he had with Francis I., king of France, at Bologna, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction [g], which had been so long odious to the popes, and to substitute in its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy; which he accordingly imposed upon his subjects under the title of the *Concordat*, but not without their utmost indignation and reluctance [h]. CENT. XVI.

[g] We have mentioned this Pragmatic Sanction, cent. xv. part ii. chap. ii. sect. xvi. note [n], and given there some account of its nature and design. This important edict is published at large in the eighth volume of the Concilia Harduini, as is the Concordat in the ninth volume, and in Leibnitz' Mantissa Codicis Diplomat. part i. ii. The history of these two pieces is given in an ample and accurate manner by bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, vol. iii.—See also, on the same subject, Boulay's Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. vi.—Du Clos, Histoire de Louis XI.—Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François, tom. i. diss. ix.—Menagiana, tom. iii.

[h] The king went in person to the parliament to offer the Concordat to be registered; and letters patent were made out, requiring all the judges and courts of justice to observe this act, and see it executed. The parliament, after deliberating a month upon this important matter, concluded not to register the Concordat, but to observe still the Pragmatic Sanction, unless the new edict should be received and established in as great an

CENT. XVI.

The avarice of the popes.

VIII. The raging thirst of dominion that inflamed these pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all who came within the reach of their power, were accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of Europe were, in a manner, drained to enrich these spiritual tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of

assembly as that was, which published the other in the reign of Charles VII.; and when by violence and force they were obliged to publish the Concordat, they joined to this publication a solemn protest, and an appeal from the pope to the next general council; into both which measures the university aud the clergy entered with the greatest alacrity and zeal. But royal and papal despotism at length prevailed.

The chancellor Du-Prat, who was principally concerned in promoting the Concordat, has been generally regarded as an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican church. The illustrious and learned president Henault has not, however, hesitated to defend his memory against this accusation, and to justify the Concordat as an equitable contract, and as a measure attended with less inconvenience than the Pragmatic Sanction. He observes, that by the king's being invested, by the Concordat, with the privilege of nominating to the bishoprics and vacant benefices of the first class, many corruptions and abuses were prevented, which arose from the simoniacal practices that prevailed almost every where, while, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, every church chose its bishop, and every monastery its abbot. He observes, moreover, that this nomination was the natural right of the crown, as the most considerable part of the great benefices had been created by the kings of France; and he insists particularly on this consideration, that the right which Christian communities have to choose their leaders, cannot be exercised by such large bodies without much confusion and many inconveniences; and that the subjects, by entrusting their sovereign with the government of the state, invest him, *ipso facto*, with an authority over the church which is a part of the state, and its noblest branch. See Henault's Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, in the particular remarks that are placed at the end of the reign of Louis XIV.

The most specious objection that was made to the Concordat was this; that, in return for the nomination to the vacant benefices, the king granted to the popes the *annates*, or first-fruits, which had so long been complained of as an intolerable grievance. There is, however, no mention of this equivalent in the Concordat; and it was by a papal bull that succeeded this compact, that the pontiffs claimed the payment of the first-fruits, of which they had put themselves in possession in 1316, and which had been suspended by the Pragmatic Sanction.

wealth, in order to augment the number of their friends and the stability of their dominion. And, indeed, according to the notions commonly entertained, the rulers of the church seemed, from the nature of their character, to have a fair pretence for demanding a sort of tribute from their flock; for none can deny to the supreme governors of any state (and such was the character assumed by the popes) the privilege of levying tribute from those over whom they bear rule. But, as the name of *tribute* obviously tended to alarm the jealousy and excite the indignation of the civil magistrate, the pontiffs were too cunning to employ it, and had recourse to various stratagems and contrivances to rob the subject without shocking the sovereign, and to levy taxes under the specious mask of religion. Among these contrivances, the distribution of *indulgences*, which enabled the wealthy to purchase impunity for their crimes by certain sums applied to religious uses, held an eminent rank. This traffic was renewed whenever the coffers of the church were exhausted. On these occasions, indulgences were warmly recommended to the ignorant multitude under some new and specious, yet fallacious pretext, and were greedily sought, to the great detriment both of individuals and of the community. CENT. XVI.

IX. Notwithstanding the veneration and homage that were paid to the Roman pontiffs, they were far from being universally reputed infallible in their decisions, or unlimited in their authority. The wiser part of the German, French, Flemish, and British nations, considered them as liable to error, and bounded by law. The councils of Constance and Basil had contributed extremely to rectify the notions of the people in that respect; and from that period all Christians, except the superstitious monks and parasites of Rome, were persuaded that the pope was subordinate to a general council, that his decrees were not infallible, and that the council had a right to depose him, whenever he was convicted of gross errors or enormous The pope's authority held inferior to that of a council.

CENT. XVI.

crimes. Thus were the people, in some measure, prepared for the reformation of the church; and hence arose that ardent desire, that earnest expectation of a general council, which filled the minds of the wisest and best Christians in this century. Hence also the frequent appeals which were made to this approaching council, when the court of Rome issued any new edict, or made any new attempt repugnant to the dictates of piety and justice.

The corruption of the lower orders of the clergy.

X. The licentious examples of the pontiffs were zealously imitated in the lives and manners of the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church. The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lusts and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous; for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals with more rigor and severity, than these spiritual rulers employed toward all who were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem; and the most considerable part of that once respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eyes of the wise and good, but also in the general judgement of the multitude[i]. Nor could the case be otherwise as matters were now constituted; for, as all the offices and dignities of the church had become *venal*, the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honors.

The state of the monastic orders.

XI. The prodigious swarms of monks that overspread Europe were justly considered as burthens to society, and occasioned frequent murmurs and com-

[i] See Cornelii Aurelii Gaudani Apocalypsis, seu Visio Mirabilis super miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesiæ, in Casp. Burmanni Analect. Hist. de Hadriano VI. p. 245, printed at Utrecht in 1727.

plaints. Nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, of an age that was emerging from the thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, that used to distinguish them in former times. But the Benedictine and other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence, and, forgetful of the gravity of their character and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of vice in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the Mendicant orders, and especially those who followed the rules of St. Dominic and St. Francis, though they were not carried away with the torrent of licentiousness that was overwhelming the church, lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners, tended to alienate from them the minds of the people, and gradually diminished their reputation. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain eminent and learned men, who, being eagerly desirous of opening the paths of science to the pursuit of the studious youth, recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in their writings and in their discourse. This is sufficiently evident from what happened to Reuchlinus, Erasmus, and other learned men. CENT. XVI.

XII. Among all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and whose influence was very widely extended. This will not appear surprising, when we consider that they filled very eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the inquisition, The Dominicans.

CENT. XVI. and had the care of souls, with the function of confessors, in all the courts of Europe; a circumstance which, in those times of ignorance and superstition, manifestly tended to put most of the European princes in their power. But, notwithstanding all this credit and authority, the Dominicans had their enemies; and about this time their influence began to decline. Several marks of perfidy, that appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, justly exposed them to the public indignation. Nothing could be more infamous than the frauds they practised to accomplish their purposes, as may be seen, among other examples, by the tragedy which they acted at Bern in 1509 [k]. They were perpetually employed in

☞ [k] This most impious fraud is recorded at length by Ruchat, at the end of the sixth volume of his Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse; and also by Hottinger, in his Histor. Eccles. Helvet. tom. i. There is also a compendious, but distinct, narration of this infernal stratagem, in bishop Burnet's Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. The stratagem in question was the consequence of a rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The former maintained that she was born without the blemish of original sin; the latter asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age of darkness and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground from day to day. To support the credit of their order, they resolved, at a chapter holden at Wimpfen in 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make Bern the scene of their operations. A person named Jetzer, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit as a lay-brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions they were contriving. One of the four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into Jetzer's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this frightful form he approached Jetzer's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at Paris, as a judgement of Heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime; adding, at the same time, that, by his means, he might be rescued from his misery, which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with horrible

stigmatising, with the opprobrious mark of heresy, numbers of learned and pious men, in encroaching CENT. XVI.

cries and howlings, terribly alarmed poor Jetzer, and engaged him to promise to do all that was in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary mortifications, such as the discipline of the whip, performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and Jetzer's lying prostrate in the form of one crucified in the chapel during mass, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performance of these mortifications would draw down upon Jetzer the peculiar protection of the Blessed Virgin; and concluded by saying, that he would appear to him again, accompanied with two other spirits. Morning was no sooner come, than Jetzer gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him; and every one consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitudes that crowded about the convent, while the four friars who managed the imposture, magnified, in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their conversation. The night after, the apparition was renewed with the addition of two friars, dressed like devils; and Jetzer's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes, the impostor talked much of the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the blessed Virgin; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in original sin; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory; that the blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her son; and that the town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within its walls. In one of these apparitions, Jetzer imagined that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and this was not a mistake; but, not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this. The prior appeared in various forms, sometimes in that of St. Barbara, at others in that of St. Bernard; at length he assumed that of the Virgin Mary, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits that were employed to adorn her statue on the great festivals; the little images, that on these days are set on the altars, were used for angels, which, being tied to a cord that passed through a pulley over Jetzer's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended virgin to increase the delusion. The Virgin, thus equipped, addressed a long discourse to Jetzer, in which, among other things, she told him that she was conceived in original sin, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him, as a miraculous proof of her presence, a *host*, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment; and after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were transacted,

CENT. XVI. upon the rights and property of others to augment their possessions, and in contriving the most iniquitous snares and stratagems for the destruction of their

the *Virgin-prior* told Jetzer, that she would give him the most affecting and undoubted marks of her Son's love, by imprinting on him the five wounds that pierced Jesus on the cross, as she had done before to St. Lucia and St. Catharine. Accordingly, she took his hand by force, and struck a large nail through it, which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night this masculine virgin brought, as she pretended, some of the linen, in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave Jetzer a soporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized child, some grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, all which, with some stupifying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil in hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awoke he found, to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of Mary, the other of the child Jesus; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little Jesus asked his mother, by means of this voice, (which was that of the prior,) why she wept; and she answered, that her tears were occasioned by the impious manner in which the Franciscans attributed to *her* the honor that was due to *him*, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems of these Dominicans, were repeated every night; and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that, simple as Jetzer was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior, who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The Dominicans, fearing, by this discovery, to lose the fruits of their imposture, thought the best method would be to own the whole matter to Jetzer, and to engage him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the delusion. He was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the Dominicans, suspecting that he was not entirely gained over, resolved to poison him. His constitution was so vigorous, that though they gave him poison five times, he was not destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared

adversaries[1]; and they were the principal counsellors by whose instigation and advice Leo X. was determined to that most rash and imprudent measure, even the public condemnation of Luther. CENT. XVI

XIII. The principal places in the public schools of learning were filled very frequently by monks of the mendicant orders. This unhappy circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness which had so long enveloped them; and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in several of the European countries. The instructors of youth, dignified with the *venerable* titles of *artists*, *grammarians*, *philosophers*, and *dialecticians*, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a certain quantity of barbarous terms, arid and senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts delivered in the most inelegant style; and all such as The state of learning and of the public schools.

with some spices, which growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelps that were in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. At another time they poisoned the host; but, as he vomited it soon after he had taken it, he escaped once more. In short, there were no means of securing him, which the most detestable impiety and barbarity could invent, that they did not put in practice, till, finding at last an opportunity of getting out of the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this infernal plot. This intelligence being sent to Rome, commissaries were ordered to examine the affair; and the whole imposture being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burned alive on the last day of May, 1509. Jetzer died some time after at Constance, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some. Had his life been taken away before he had found an opportunity of making the discovery already mentioned, this execrable and horrid plot, which, in many of its circumstances, was conducted with art, would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle. This is a very brief account of the matter; such as are desirous of a more circumstantial relation of this famous imposture, may consult the authors mentioned in the beginning of this note.

[1] See Bilib. Pirkheimeri Epistola ad Hadrianum Pontif. Maxim. de Dominicanorum flagitiis, in operibus ejus, p. 372. This letter is also to be found in Gerdesii Introd. ad Histor. Renovati Evangelii, tom. i. p. 170. Append.

CENT. XVI. could repeat this jargon with readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition. The whole body of the philosophers extolled Aristotle beyond measure, while scarcely any studied him, and none understood him; for what was now exhibited, as the philosophy of that celebrated sage, was really nothing more than a confused and motley heap of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, which even the public doctors, and heads of schools were unable to comprehend; and if, among these thorns of scholastic wisdom, there was any thing that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and blasted by the furious wranglings and disputes of the Scotists and Thomists, the Realists and Nominalists, whose clamors and contentions were unhappily heard in all the European colleges.

The state of theology.

XIV. The wretched and senseless manner of teaching theology in this century, may be learned from many books yet extant, which were written by the divines of that period, and which, in reality, have no other merit than their enormous bulk. There were very few expositors of the Scriptures during this century; and scarcely any of the Christian doctors had a critical acquaintance with the sacred oracles. This kind of knowlege was so rare, that, when Luther arose, there could not be found, even in the university of Paris, which was regarded as the first and most famous of all the public schools of learning, a single person qualified to dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine upon a scriptural foundation. Any commentators, that were at this time to be found, were such as, laying aside all attention to the true meaning and force of the words of Scripture, which their profound ignorance of the original languages and of the rules of criticism rendered them incapable of investigating, gave a loose to their vain and irregular fancies, in the pursuit of mysterious significations. The greatest part of the public teachers belonged to the classes of divines, already mentioned under the titles of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, who

were extremely fond, the former of loading their accounts, both of the truths and precepts of religion, with multiplied quotations and authorities from the writings of the ancient doctors; the latter of explaining the doctrines of the Gospel by the rules of a subtile and intricate philosophy.

The liberty of debating religious subjects.

XV. It must at the same time be observed, that the divines of this century disputed with great freedom upon religious subjects, even upon those which were looked upon as most essential to salvation. There were several points of doctrine, which had not yet been determined by the authority of the church; nor did the pontiffs, without some very urgent reason, restrain the right of private judgement, or force the consciences of men, except in those cases where doctrines were adopted that seemed detrimental to the supremacy of the apostolic see, or to the temporal interests of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. Hence it is, that we could mention many Christian doctors before Luther, who inculcated not only with impunity, but even with applause, the very same tenets that afterwards drew upon him such heavy accusations and such bitter reproaches; and it is beyond all doubt, that this great reformer might have propagated these opinions without any danger of molestation, had he not pointed his warm remonstrances against the opulence of Rome, the overgrown fortunes of the bishops, the majesty of the pontiffs, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans.

The nature of religious worship as it was celebrated at this time.

XVI. The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to touch the heart. Of those who were at all qualified to administer public intruction to the people the number was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained little beside fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived instead of instructing the multitude. Several of these

CENT. XVI. sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowlege, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a common-place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the force of their lungs and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligation of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit in the court of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable burnings of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences. Such were the topics that employed the zeal and labors of the most eminent doctors of this century; and they were, indeed, the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the *good old mother church*, and advance her temporal interests. Ministers who would have taken it into their heads to inculcate the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel, to exhibit the example of its divine author, and the efficacy of his mediation, as the most powerful motives to righteousness and virtue, and to represent the love of God and mankind as the great duties of the Christian life, would have been very unprofitable servants to the church and to the papacy, however they might have promoted the cause of virtue and the salvation of souls.

The corrupt and miserable condition of the people in general.

XVII. From this state of affairs we may draw conclusions respecting the true causes of that incredible ignorance in religious matters, which reigned in all countries, and among all ranks and orders of men; an ignorance accompanied with the vilest forms of superstition, and the greatest corruption of manners. The clergy were far from shewing the least disposition to enlighten the ignorance, or to check the

superstition of the times; which, indeed, they even nourished and promoted, as conducive to their safety, and favorable to their interests. Nor was there more zeal shewn in stemming the torrent of immorality and licentiousness, than in dispelling the clouds of superstition and ignorance; for the prudence of the church had easily foreseen, that the traffic of indulgences could not but suffer from a diminution of the crimes and vices of mankind, and that, in proportion as virtue gained an ascendency upon the manners of the multitude, the profits arising from expiations, satisfactions, and the like ecclesiastical contrivances, would necessarily decrease.

A reformation in the church ardently desired.

XVIII. Such was the dismal condition of the church. Its corruption was complete, and the abuses which its rulers permitted had reached the greatest height of enormity. Proportioned to the greatness of this corruption was the impatient ardor with which all, who were endowed with any tolerable portion of solid learning, genuine piety, or even good sense, desired to see the church reformed and purged from these shocking abuses; and the number of those who were affected in this manner was very considerable in all parts of the western world. The greatest part of them, indeed, were perhaps over-moderate in their demands. They did not extend their views to a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, a suppression of those doctrines, which, however absurd, had acquired a high degree of credit by their antiquity, or even to an abrogation of those rites and ceremonies, which had been multiplied in such an extravagant manner, to the great detriment of true religion and rational piety. All they aimed at was, to set limits to the overgrown power of the pontiffs, reform the corrupt manners of the clergy, and prevent the frauds that were too commonly practised by that order of men; to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of the blinded multitude, and to deliver them from the heavy and insupportable burthens which were imposed upon them under religious pre-

CENT. XVI. texts. But as it was impossible to obtain any of these salutary purposes without the suppression of various absurd and impious opinions, from which the grievances complained of sprang, or, indeed, without a general reformation of the religion that was publicly professed, this was supposed to be ardently, though silently wished for, by all those who openly demanded the 'reformation of the church in its head and in its 'members.'

The Mystics. XIX. If any sparks of real piety subsisted under this despotic empire of superstition, they were only to be found among the Mystics; for this sect, renouncing the subtilty of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, and all the acts and ceremonies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God, the centre and source of holiness and perfection. Hence they were loved and respected by many persons, who had a serious sense of religion and a devotional frame of mind. Yet, as they were not entirely free from the reigning superstitions, but associated many vulgar errors with their practical precepts and directions;—and as their excessive passion for contemplation led them into chimerical notions, and sometimes into a degree of fanaticism that approached to madness;—more effectual succours than theirs were necessary to combat the inveterate errors of the times, and to bring about the reformation that was expected with such impatience.

CHAPTER II.

The History of the Reformation, from its Commencement to the Confession of Augsburg.

The dawn of a reformation rises unexpectedly. I. WHILE the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious

professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; an obscure and inconsiderable person suddenly offered himself to public view in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long-expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was Martin Luther, a native of Eisleben in Saxony, a monk of the Augustinian *Eremites* (one of the Mendicant orders), and, at the same time, professor of divinity in the university which had been erected at Wittenberg, a few years before this period, by Frederic the Wise. The papal chair was, at that time, filled by Leo X. Maximilian I., a prince of the house of Austria, was king of the Romans and emperor of Germany; and Frederic, already mentioned, was elector of Saxony. The bold efforts of this new adversary of the pontiffs were honored with the applause of many; but few or none entertained confident hopes of his success. It seemed scarcely possible that this puny David could hurt a Goliah, whom so many heroes had opposed in vain. CENT. XVI.

II. The qualities or talents that distinguished Luther were not of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labor, incredible; his magnanimity invincible, and unshaken by the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived. All this will be acknowleged, even by his enemies, at least by such of them as are not totally blinded by a spirit of partiality and faction. He was deeply versed in the theology and philosophy that were in vogue in the schools during this century, and he taught them both with great reputation and success in the university of Wittenberg. As a philosopher, he embraced the doctrine of the Nominalists, which was the system adopted by his order; while, in divinity, he followed chiefly the Luther.

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sentiments of Augustin; but in both he preferred the decisions of Scripture, and the dictates of right reason, to the authority and opinions of fallible men. It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error, and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find few points of his character that render him liable to reproach [m].

Indulgences preached up by John Tetzel in 1517.

III. The first opportunity that this great man had of unfolding, to the view of a blinded and deluded age, the truth which struck his astonished sight, was offered by a Dominican, whose name was John Tetzel [n]. This bold and enterprising monk had been chosen on account of his uncommon impudence, by Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, to preach and proclaim, in Germany, those famous *indulgences* of Leo X. which administered the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission not only with matchless insolence, indecency [o] and fraud, but even carried his impiety so far as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of Christ. At this, Luther, unable to repress his just indignation,

[m] The writers who have given a circumstantial account of Luther and his transactions, are accurately enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Centifolium Lutheranum.

[n] The historians who have particularly mentioned Tetzel, and his odious methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated in the work quoted in the preceding note, part i. p. 47; part ii. p. 530.—What is said of this vile deceiver by Echard and Quetif (Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator. tom. ii.) discovers the blindest zeal and the meanest partiality.

☞ [o] In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, Tetzel said, among other enormities, that "even had any one ravished the mother of God, he (Tetzel) had wherewithal to efface his guilt." He also boasted, that "he had saved more souls from hell by these indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching."

raised his warning voice, and, in ninety-five propositions (maintained publicly at Wittenberg, on the 30th of September, 1517), censured the extravagant extortion of these quæstors, and plainly pointed out the pontiff as a partaker of their guilt, since he suffered the people to be seduced, by such delusions, from placing their principal confidence in Christ, the only proper object of their trust. This was the commencement and foundation of that memorable rupture and revolution in the church, which humbled the grandeur of the lordly pontiffs, and eclipsed so great a part of their glory [P]. CENT. XVI.

[P] Dr. Mosheim has taken no notice of the calumnies invented and propagated by some late authors, in order to make Luther's zealous opposition to the publication of indulgences appear to be the effect of selfish and ignoble motives. It may not, therefore, be improper to set that point in a true light; not that the cause of the reformation (which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is in no way affected by the views or characters of its instruments) can derive any strength from this inquiry; but as it may tend to vindicate the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion.

Mr. Hume, in his history of the reign of Henry VIII., has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant historian affirms, that the "Augustin friars had *usually* been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans; that Martin Luther, an Augustin friar, professor in the university of Wittenberg, *resenting the affront put upon his order*, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves." It is to be wished, that Mr. Hume's candor had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had ventured to repeat it. In the first place, it is not true, that the Augustin friars had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether Augustin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites. From the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted to the Dominicans *; and in the records which relate

* See Weismanni Memorabilia Historiæ Sacræ N. T. p. 1051, 1115.

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The true state of the debate between Luther and Tetzel.

IV. This debate between Luther and Tetzel was, at first, a matter of no great moment, and might to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Augustin friar, and not a single act by which it appears, that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther, (i. e. from 1450 to 1517,) during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely find an Augustin friar mentioned as being employed in that service; if we except a monk named Balzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal quæstor Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Augustin monks were exclusively, or even usually, engaged in that service *. Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of Paul Sarpi, which has been abundantly refuted by De Priero, Pallavicini, and Graweson, the mortal enemies of Luther.—But it may be alleged, that, even supposing it was not usual to employ the Augustin friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To shew the injustice of this allegation, I observe, secondly, that, in the time of Luther, the preaching of indulgences had become very odious and unpopular; and it is therefore far from being probable, that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission, either for himself or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, toward the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings †. The very commission, which is supposed to have excited the envy of Luther, was offered by Leo to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order ‡, who gave it over entirely to Albert, bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. Is it then to be imagined, that either Luther, or the other Augustin friars, aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the Dominicans in general; for it was given to Tetzel alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his extortion, profligacy, and barbarity.

* See Harpii Dissertat. de Nonnullis Indulgentiarum (Sæc. xiv. et xv.) Quæstoribus, p. 384, 387.

† See Walch. op. Lutheri, tom. xv. p. 114, 283, 312, 349.—Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. i. sect. vi. p. 13.

‡ See Walch. loc. cit. p. 371.

have been determined with the utmost facility, had Leo been disposed to follow the healing method which common prudence must have naturally pointed out on such an occasion; for, after all, this was no more than the private dispute of two monks, con-

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led Luther to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider, in the third place, that he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were generally very prodigal of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of Luther are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach Luther with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of Erasmus, Sleidan, De Thou, Guicciardini, and others, whose testimony might be perhaps suspected of partiality in his favor; but I speak of Caietan, Hoogstrat, De Priero, Emser, and even the infamous John Tetzel, whom Luther opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even Cochlæus was silent on this head during the life of Luther, though, after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices *, that Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other enemies of Luther, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of Luther were better judges of his character, and of the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after-times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped their prying eyes, should have discovered themselves to us who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. Bossuet, to Mr. Hume, and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story. Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. Hume's assertion is entirely groundless.

I might add many other considerations to shew the unreasonableness of supposing that Luther exposed himself to the rage of the pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated clergy, to the severity of such a potent and despotic prince as Charles V. and to the risque of death itself, from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind.

* Sleidan de Statu Rel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Electorem.

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cerning the extent of the pope's power with respect to the remission of sin. Luther confessed that the Roman pontiff was invested with the power of remitting the *human* punishments denounced against transgressors, i. e. the punishments ordained by the church, and its visible head, the bishop of Rome; but he strenuously denied that his power extended to the remission of the *divine* punishments allotted to offenders, either in the present or in a future state; affirming, on the contrary, that these punishments could only be removed by the merits of Christ, or by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, undertaken and performed by the transgressor. The doctrine of Tetzel was directly opposite to the sentiments of Luther; for that senseless and designing monk asserted, that all punishments, present and future, human and divine, were submitted to the authority of the pope, and came within the reach of his absolving power. This matter had often been debated before the present period; but the popes had always been prudent enough to leave it undecided. These debates, however, being sometimes treated with neglect, and at others carried on without wisdom, the seeds of discord imperceptibly gained new accessions of strength and vigor, and from small beginnings produced, at length, events of the most momentous nature.

The adversaries of Luther, and the patrons of Tetzel.

V. The sentiments of Luther were received with applause by the greatest part of Germany, which had long groaned under the avarice of the pontiffs, and the extortions of their tax-gatherers, and had murmured grievously against the various stratagems that were daily put in practice, with the most shameless impudence, to fleece the rich, and to grind the faces of the poor. But the votaries of Rome were filled with horror, when they were informed of the opinions propagated by the Saxon reformer; more especially the Dominicans, who looked upon their order as insulted and attacked in the person of Tetzel. The alarm of controversy was therefore sounded, and

Tetzel himself appeared immediately in the field against Luther, whose sentiments he pretended to refute in two academical discourses, which he pronounced on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity. In the year following (1511) two famous Dominicans, Sylvester de Priero and Hoogstrat, the former a native of Italy, and the latter a German, rose up also against the adventurous reformer, and attacked him at Cologne with the utmost vehemence and ardor. Their example was soon followed by another formidable champion, named Eckius, a celebrated professor of divinity at Ingolstadt, and one of the most zealous supporters of the Dominican order. Luther stood firm against these united adversaries, and was neither vanquished by their arguments, nor daunted by their talents and reputation; but answered their objections, and refuted their reasonings with the greatest strength of evidence, and a becoming spirit of resolution and perseverance. At the same time, he addressed letters, in the most submissive and respectful terms, to the pope and to several of the bishops, shewing them the uprightness of his intentions, as well as the justice of his cause, and declaring his readiness to change his sentiments, as soon as he should see them fairly proved to be erroneous. CENT. XVI.

VI. At first, Leo beheld this controversy with indifference and contempt; but, being informed by the emperor Maximilian not only of its importance, but also of the fatal divisions it was likely to produce in Germany, he summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to maintain. This papal citation was superseded by Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who pretended, that the cause of Luther belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it was to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince, and ordered Luther to justify his intentions A conference between Luther and Cajetan at Augsburg.

CENT. XVI. and doctrines before cardinal Caietan, who was at this time legate at the diet of Augsburg. In this first step the court of Rome gave a specimen of that temerity and imprudence with which all its negotiations, in this weighty affair, were afterwards conducted; for, instead of reconciling, nothing could tend more to inflame the dispute than the choice of Caietan, a Dominican, and, consequently, the declared enemy of Luther and friend of Tetzel, as judge and arbitrator in this nice and perilous controversy.

The issue of this conference.

VII. Luther, however, repaired to Augsburg in October, 1518, and conferred, at three meetings, with Caietan himself[q], concerning the points in debate. But had he even been disposed to yield to the court of Rome, this imperious legate was, of all others, the most unfit person to be employed in procuring from him any act or mark of submission. The high spirit of Luther was not to be tamed by the arrogant dictates of mere authority; such, however, were the only methods of persuasion adopted by the haughty cardinal. He, in an overbearing tone, desired Luther to renounce his opinions, without even attempting to prove them erroneous, and insisted, with importunity, on his confessing humbly his fault, and submitting respectfully to the judgement of the Roman pontiff[r]. The Saxon reformer could not think of yielding to terms so unreasonable in themselves, and so despotically proposed; so that the

[q] There is an ample account of this cardinal given by Quetif and Echard, Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator. tom. ii.

[r] The imperious and imprudent manner in which Caietan behaved toward Luther was highly disapproved, even at the court of Rome, as appears, among other testimonies, from Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, book i. p. 22. The conduct of Caietan is defended by Echard, but with little prudence and less argument. The truth is, that the court of Rome, and its unthinking sovereign, were not less culpable than Caietan in the whole of this transaction, since they might easily foresee, that a Dominican legate was of all others the most unlikely to treat Luther with moderation and impartiality, and consequently the most improper to reconcile matters.

conferences were absolutely without effect. Luther, finding his adversary and judge inaccessible to reason and argument, suddenly left Augsburg, after having appealed from the pope's present decision to that which he should pronounce when better informed; and, in this step, he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the bishop of Rome[s]. Leo, on the other hand, let loose the reins to ambition and despotism, and carried things to extremities; for he published an edict, *commanding* his spiritual subjects to acknowlege his power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgression. As soon as Luther received information of this inconsiderate and violent measure, he perceived, plainly, that it would be impossible for him to bring the court of Rome to any reasonable terms; he therefore repaired to Wittenberg, and appealed from the pontiff to a general council.

The transactions of Miltitz.

VIII. In the mean time the pope became sensible of his imprudence in entrusting Caietan with such a commission, and therefore resolved to employ a man of more candor and impartiality, and better acquainted with business, in order to suppress the rebellion of Luther, and to engage that reformer to submission and obedience. This new legate was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of Leo, and whose laic character exposed him less to the prejudices which arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been clothed with the splendid purple, or the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission as this was. Leo sent him into Saxony to present to Frederic the golden consecrated rose (which the pontiffs are accustomed to bestow, as a peculiar mark of distinction, on those

All the projects of reconciliation disconcerted in 1519.

[s] See B. Christ. Fred. Börner. Diss. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Caietano, Leips. 1722.—Val. Ern. Loscheri Acta et Documenta Reformat. tom. ii. cap. xi. p. 435, op. Lutheri, tom. xxiv. p. 409.

CENT. XVI. princes for whom they have, or think proper to profess, an uncommon friendship and esteem), and to treat with Luther, not only about finishing his controversy with Tetzel, but also with regard to the methods of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the court of Rome. Nor, indeed, were the negotiations of this prudent minister entirely unsuccessful; for, in his first conference with Luther, at Altenburg, in 1519, he carried matters so far as to persuade him to write a submissive letter to Leo, promising to observe a profound silence upon the points in debate, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. This same year, in the month of October, Miltitz had a second conference with Luther in the castle of Liebenwerd, and a third the year following at Lichtenberg[t]. These meetings, which were reciprocally conducted with moderation and decency, gave great hopes of an approaching reconciliation; nor were these hopes altogether ill-founded[u]. But the violent proceedings of the enemies of Luther, and the arrogant spirit, as well as unaccountable imprudence, of the court of Rome, blasted these fair expectations, and rekindled the flames of discord.

The nature of the conferences between Miltitz and Luther.

☞ [w] IX. It is sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by Caietan to draw Luther anew under the papal yoke, because these were, indeed, nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition

[t] See Börneri Dissert. The records relating to the ambassy of Miltitz, were first published by Cyprianus, in Addit. ad Tenzelii Histor. Reformat. tom. i. ii.,—as also by Löscherus, in his Acta Reformat. tom. ii. c. xvi. and tom. iii. cap. ii.

[u] In 1519, Leo wrote to Luther in the softest and most pacific terms. From this remarkable letter, (which was published in 1742, by Löscherus, in a German work entitled Unschuld Nachricht) it appears that at the court of Rome they looked upon a reconciliation between Luther and the pontiff as certain and near at hand.

☞ [w] This whole ninth section is added to Dr. Mosheim's work by the translator, who thought that this part of Luther's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner, than it is in the original.

and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most shameless impudence. A man who began by commanding the reformer to renounce his errors, and to believe, upon the dictates of mere authority, that "one drop of Christ's blood being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity, which was shed in the garden and on the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs[x];" such a man was not to be reasoned with. But Miltitz proceeded in quite another manner, and his conferences with the Saxon reformer are worthy of attention. He was ordered, indeed, to demand of the elector, that he would either oblige Luther to renounce the doctrines he had hitherto maintained, or that he would withdraw from him his protection and favor. But, perceiving that he was received by the elector with a degree of coldness that bordered upon contempt, and that Luther's credit and cause were too far advanced to be destroyed by the efforts of mere authority, he had recourse to gentler methods. He loaded Tetzel with the bitterest reproaches, on account of the irregular and superstitious means he had employed for promoting the sale of indulgences, and attributed to this miserable wretch all the abuses that Luther had complained of. Tetzel, on the other hand, burthened with the iniquities of Rome, tormented with a consciousness of his own injustice and extortions, stung with the opprobrious censures of the new legate, and seeing himself equally despised and abhorred by both parties, died of grief and despair[y].

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☞ [x] Such, among others still more absurd, were the expressions of Caietan, which he borrowed from one of the Decretals of Clement VI. called (and that justly for more than one reason) *Extravagants*.

☞ [y] Luther was so affected by the agonies of despair under which Tetzel labored, that he wrote to him a pathetic letter of consolation, which, however, produced no effect. His infamy was perpetuated by a picture placed in the church of Pirna, in which he is represented sitting on an ass and selling indulgences.

CENT. XVI. This incendiary being sacrificed as a victim to cover the Roman pontiff from reproach, Miltitz entered into a particular conversation with Luther at Altenburg, and, without pretending to justify the scandalous traffic in question, required only, that he would acknowlege the four following points: "1st, That "the people had been seduced by false notions of "indulgences: 2dly, That he (Luther) had been "the cause of that seduction, by representing in- "dulgences as much more heinous than they really "were: 3dly, That the odious conduct of Tetzel "alone had given occasion to these representations: "and, 4thly, That, though the avarice of Albert, "archbishop of Mentz, had set on Tetzel, this "rapacious tax-gatherer had far exceeded the bounds "of his commission." These proposals were accompanied with many soothing words, with pompous encomiums on Luther's character, capacity, and talents, and with the softest and most pathetic expostulations in favor of union and concord in an afflicted and divided church; all which Miltitz combined with the greatest dexterity and address, in order to touch and disarm the reformer. Nor were his mild and insinuating methods of negotiating without effect; and it was upon this occasion that Luther made submissions which shewed that his views were not, as yet, very extensive, his former prejudices entirely expelled, or his reforming principles steadily fixed; for he not only offered to observe a profound silence for the future with respect to indulgences, provided that the same condition should be imposed on his adversaries; he went much farther; he proposed writing an humble and submissive letter to the pope, acknowleging that he had carried his zeal and animosity too far; and such a letter he wrote soon after the conference at Altenburg[z]. He even consented to publish a circular letter, exhorting all his

[z] This letter was dated the 13th of March, 1519, about two months after that conference.

disciples and followers to reverence and obey the dictates of the holy Roman church. He declared that his only intention, in the writings he had composed, was to brand with infamy those emissaries who abused its authority, and employed its protection as a mask to cover their abominable and impious frauds. It is true, indeed, that amidst those weak submissions which the impartial demands of historical truth oblige us to relate, there was, properly speaking, no retraction of his former tenets, nor the smallest degree of respect shown to the infamous traffic of indulgences. Nevertheless, the pretended majesty of the Roman church, and the authority of the Roman pontiff, were treated by Luther in this transaction, and in his letter to Leo, in a manner that could not naturally have been expected from a man who had already appealed from the pope to a general council. CENT. XVI.

Had the pope been so prudent as to accept the submission of Luther, he would have almost nipped in the bud the cause of the reformation, or would, at least, have considerably retarded its growth and progress. When he had gained over the head, the members would, with greater facility, have been reduced to obedience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of some inconsiderate bigots renewed (happily for the truth) the divisions, which were so near being healed, and, by animating both Luther and his followers to inspect more closely the enormities that prevailed in the papal hierarchy, promoted the principles, and augmented the spirit, which ultimately produced the blessed [a] reformation.

☞ [a] See, for an ample account of Luther's conferences with Miltitz, the incomparable work of Seckendorff, entitled, Commentar. Histor. Apologet. de Lutheranismo, sive de Reformatione Religionis, &c. in which the facts relating to Luther and the Reformation are deduced from the most valuable and authentic manuscripts and records, contained in the library of Saxe-Gotha, and in other learned and princely collections; and in which the frauds and falsehoods of Maimbourg's History of Lutheranism are fully detected and refuted.—As to Miltitz,

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The disputes at Leipsic, in 1519, between Eckius and Carlostadt.

X. One of the circumstances that contributed principally, at least by its consequences, to render the ambassy of Miltitz ineffectual for the restoration of peace, was a famous controversy of an incidental nature that was carried on at Leipsic, for some weeks successively, in 1519 [b]. Eckius, the celebrated theologian, happened to differ widely from Carlostadt, the colleague and companion of Luther, in his sentiments concerning free will. The result of this variety in opinion was easy to be foreseen. The military genius of our ancestors had so far infected the schools of learning, that differences in points of religion and literature, when they grew to a certain degree of warmth and animosity, were decided, like the quarrels of valiant knights, by a single combat. Some famous university was pitched upon as the field of battle, while the rector and professors beheld the contest, and proclaimed the victory. Eckius, therefore, in compliance with the spirit of this fighting age, challenged Carlostadt, and even Luther himself, against whom he had already drawn his pen, to try the force of his theological arms. The challenge was accepted, the day appointed, and the three champions appeared in the field. The first conflict was between Carlostadt and Eckius, respecting the powers and freedom of the human will [c]; it was carried on in the

his fate was unhappy. His moderation (which nothing but the blind zeal of some furious monks could have prevented from being eminently serviceable to the cause of Rome) was represented by Eckius, as something worse than indifference about the success of his commission; and, after several marks of neglect received from the pontiff, he had the misfortune to lose his life in passing the Rhine at Mentz.

[b] These disputes commenced on the 27th of June, and ended on the 15th of July.

[c] This controversy turned upon *liberty*, considered not in a philosophical, but in a theological sense. It was rather a dispute concerning *power* than concerning *liberty*. Carlostadt maintained, that, since the fall of man, our natural liberty is not strong enough to conduct us to what is good, without the intervention of divine grace. Eckius asserted, on the contrary, that our natural liberty co-operates with divine grace, and that it is in

castle of Pleissenburg, before a numerous and splendid auditory, and was followed by a dispute between Luther and Eckius concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontiff. This latter controversy, which the present situation of affairs rendered singularly nice and critical, was left undecided. Hoffman, at that time rector of the university of Leipsic, and who had been also appointed judge of the arguments alleged on both sides, refused to declare to whom the victory belonged, so that the decision of the case was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfort [d]. In the mean time, one of the immediate effects of this dispute was a visible increase of the bitterness and enmity which Eckius had conceived against Luther; for from this very period he breathed nothing but fury against the reformer [e], whom he marked out as a victim to his vengeance, without considering, that the measures he took for the destruction of Luther, must have a most pernicious influence upon the cause of the pontiff, by fomenting the present divisions, and thus contri- CENT. XVI.

the power of man to consent to the divine impulse, or to resist it. The former attributed all to God; the latter divided the merit of virtue between God and the creature. The modern Lutherans have almost universally abandoned the sentiments of Carlostadt.

[d] There is an ample account of this dispute at Leipsic, given by Lóscherus, in his Acta et Documenta Reformationis.

☞ [e] This was one proof that the issue of the controversy was not in his favor. The victor, in any combat, is generally too full of satisfaction and self-complacency, to feel the emotions of fury and vengeance, which seldom arise but from disappointment and defeat. There is even an insolent kind of clemency that arises from an eminent and palpable superiority. This indeed Eckius had no opportunity of exercising. Luther demonstrated, in this conference, that the church of Rome, in the earlier ages, had never been acknowleged as superior to other churches; and he combated the pretensions of that church and its bishop, from the testimony of Scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the best ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees of the council of Nice; while all the arguments of Eckius were derived from the spurious and insipid Decretals, which were scarcely of 400 years' standing. See Seckendorff's History of Lutheranism.

CENT. XVI. buting to the progress of the reformation, as was really the case [e].

Philip Melancthon.

XI. Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat, was Philip Melancthon, at that time professor of Greek at Wittenberg, who had not yet been involved in these divisions, (for the mildness of his temper, and his elegant taste for polite literature, rendered him averse from disputes of this nature,) though he was the intimate friend of Luther, and approved his design of delivering the pure and primitive science of theology from the darkness and subtilty of scholastic jargon [f]. As this eminent man was one of those whom the dispute with Eckius convinced of the excellence of Luther's cause; as he was, moreover, one of the illustrious and respectable instruments of the Reformation; it may not be improper to give some account of the talents and virtues that rendered his name immortal. His greatest enemies have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowlege, that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies that may be compared with him, whether we consider the extent of his knowlege in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labors. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent service that Luther had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted, and by recommending them, in a powerful

[e] It may be observed here, that, before Luther's attack upon the store-house of indulgences, Eckius was his intimate friend. The latter must certainly have been uncommonly unworthy, since even the mild and gentle Melancthon represents him as an inhuman persecutor, a sophist, and a knave, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief, and against his conscience. See the learned Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. p. 713; see also Vitus' account of the death of Eckius in Seckendorff, lib. iii. p. 468.

[f] See Melancthon's letter concerning the conference at Leipsic, in Löscherus' Acta et Documenta Reformationis, tom. iii.

and persuasive manner, to the study of the Germans. CENT. XVII.
He had the rare talent of discerning truth in its most intricate connexions and combinations, of comprehending at once the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost ease and perspicuity. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of Melancthon more signal advantages, and a more effectual support, than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which partly arose from the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire with ardor that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him sometimes to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is however certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of Rome, but maintained on the contrary that their extirpation was essentially necessary, in order to the restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timid, and yielding. Hence originated a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care, before he resolved upon any measure, but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was at once converted into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shews,

CENT. XVI. that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished the weaknesses and defects of Melancthon's natural character, without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and steady, his desire of reconciling all interests and pleasing all parties less vehement and excessive, his triumph over the superstitions imbibed in his infancy more complete[g], he must deservedly have been considered as one of the greatest among men[h].

The origin of the reformation in Switzerland.

XII. While the credit and authority of the pontiff were thus upon the decline in Germany, they received a mortal wound in Switzerland from Ulric Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, whose extensive learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepidity and resolution[i]. It must even be acknowleged[k], that this eminent man had perceived

☞ [g] By this, no doubt, Dr. Mosheim means the credulity this great man discovered with respect to prodigies and dreams, and his having been somewhat addicted to the pretended science of astrology. See Schelhornii Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. et Lit. vol. ii. p. 609.

[h] We have a life of Melancthon, written by Joachim Camerarius; but a more accurate account of this illustrious reformer, composed by a prudent, impartial, and well-informed biographer, as also a complete collection of his works, would be an inestimable present to the republic of letters.

☞ [i] The translator has added, to the portrait of Zuingle, the quality of *heroic intrepidity*, because it was a predominant and remarkable part of the character of this illustrious reformer, whose learning and fortitude, tempered by the greatest moderation, rendered him, perhaps beyond comparison, the brightest ornament of the protestant cause.

☞ [k] Our learned historian does not seem to acknowlege this with pleasure, as the Germans and Swiss contend for the honor of having given the first overtures toward the reformation. If, however, truth has obliged him to make this acknowlegement, he has accompanied it with some modifications which are more artful than accurate. He says, that Zuingle "had perceived some rays of the truth before Luther came to an open rupture," &c. to make us imagine that Luther might have seen the truth long before that rupture happened, and consequently as soon as Zuingle. But it is well known, that the latter, from his early years, had been shocked at several of the superstitious practices of the church of Rome; that, so early as the year

some rays of the truth before Luther came to an open rupture with the church of Rome. He was, however, afterwards still farther animated by the example, and instructed by the writings of the Saxon reformer; and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigor; for he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people[l], but also gave, in 1519, a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, named Bernardine Samson, who was carrying on, in Switzerland, the impious traffic of indulgences with the same impudence that Tetzel had done in Germany[m]. This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, Zuingle pursued with steadiness and resolution the design that he had begun with such courage and success; and some other learned men,

1516*, he had begun to explain the Scriptures to the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church; and that he had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the very time that Luther retained almost the whole system of popery, indulgences excepted. Luther proceeded very slowly to exempt himself from those prejudices of education, which Zuingle, by the force of an adventurous genius, and an uncommon degree of knowlege and penetration, easily shook off.

☞ [l] This again is inaccurate. It appears from the preceding note, and from the most authentic records, that Zuingle had explained the Scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the pope, before the name of Luther was known in Switzerland. Besides, instead of receiving instruction from the German reformer, he was much his superior in learning, capacity, and judgement, and was much fitter to be his master than his disciple, as the four volumes in folio which we have of his works abundantly testify.

[m] See Jo. Henr. Hottingeri Hist. Eccles. Helvet. tom. ii. lib. vi.—Ruchart, Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse, tom. i. liv. i.—Gerdes, Histor. Renovati Evangelii, tom. ii.

* Ruchart, Hist. de la Reformation en Suisse, Zuinglii op. tom. i. p. 7. Nouveau Diction. vol. iv. p. 866. Durand, Hist. du xvi. Siecle, tom. ii. p. 8, &c. Jurieu, Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c. partie i. p. 119.

CENT. XVI. educated in Germany, acting with zeal as his colleagues, succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of Switzerland. It is indeed to be observed, that he did not always use the same methods of conversion that were employed by Luther; nor, upon particular occasions, did he discountenance the use of violent measures against such as adhered with obstinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He is also said to have attributed, to the civil magistrate, such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs, as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But, upon the whole, even envy itself must acknowlege, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of high approbation.

Luther is excommunicated by the pope in 1520.

XIII. In the mean time, the religious dissensions in Germany increased, instead of diminishing; for, while Miltitz was treating with Luther in such a mild and prudent manner as offered the fairest prospect of an approaching accommodation, Eckius, inflamed with resentment and fury on account of his defeat, repaired with the utmost precipitation to Rome, to accomplish, as he imagined, the ruin of the bold reformer. There, entering into a league with the Dominicans, who were still in high credit at the papal court, and more especially with their two zealous patrons, De Priero and Caietan, he earnestly entreated Leo to level the thunder of his *anathemas* at the head of the delinquent, and to exclude him from the communion of the church. The Dominicans, desirous of revenging the affront which, in their opinion, their whole order had received by Luther's treatment of their brother Tetzel and their patron Caietan, seconded the furious efforts of Eckius; and the pontiff, overcome by the importunity of these pernicious counsellors, imprudently issued[n] a bull on the 15th of June, 1520, in

[n] The wisest and best part of the Roman catholics acknowlege, that Leo was chargeable with the most culpable imprudence in this rash and violent method of proceeding. See a Dissertation

which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from the writings of Luther, were solemnly condemned, his works ordered to be publicly burned, and in which he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended errors within the space of sixty days, and to throw himself upon the clemency of the pontiff.

Luther withdraws himself from the communion of the church of Rome.

XIV. As soon as the account of this rash sentence was communicated to Luther, he thought it was high time to consult both his present defence and his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose, was the renewal of his appeal from the sentence of the pontiff, to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that this appeal would be treated with contempt, and that, when the time prescribed for his recantation should have elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be leveled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of Rome, before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render this new bull of ejection a blow in the air, an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time, he resolved to execute this wise determination in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and superstitious church might be universally known, before the lordly pontiff had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th of December, 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city[o]; and there, in pre-

of the learned John Frederic Mayer, de Pontificiis Leonis X. processum adversus Lutherum improbantibus, which is part of a work published at Hamburg, in 1698, under this singular title; Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutheranæ patrona et cliens. There were several wise and thinking persons at this time about the pontiff, who declared openly, without the least ceremony, their disapprobation of the violent counsels of Eckius and the Dominicans, and gave it as their opinion, that it was both prudent and just to wait for the issue of the conferences of Miltitz with Luther, before such forcible measures should be employed.

[o] Of Wittenberg.

CENT. XVI. sence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the bull that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world, that he was no longer a subject of the pontiff, and that, consequently, the sentence of excommunication against him, which was daily expected from Rome, was entirely superfluous and insignificant; for the man who publicly commits to the flames the code that contains the laws of his sovereign, shews thereby that he has no longer any respect for his government, nor any intention of submitting to his authority; and the man who voluntarily withdraws himself from a society, cannot, with any appearance of reason or common sense, be afterwards forcibly and authoritatively excluded from it. It is not improbable, that Luther was directed, in this critical measure, by persons well skilled in the law, who are generally dexterous in furnishing a perplexed client with nice distinctions and plausible evasions. Be that as it may, he separated himself only from the church of Rome, which considers the pope as infallible, and not from the church considered in a more extensive sense; for he submitted to the decision of the universal church, when that decision should be given in a general council lawfully assembled. When this judicious distinction is considered, it will not appear at all surprising, that many, even of the Roman catholics, who weighed matters with a certain degree of impartiality and wisdom, and were zealous for the maintenance of the liberties of Germany, justified this bold resolution of Luther°. In less than a month after he had taken

☞ ° This judicious distinction has not been sufficiently attended to; and the Romanists, some through artifice, others through ignorance, have confounded the *papacy* with the *catholic church*, though they be, in reality, two different things. The papacy, indeed, by the ambitious dexterity of the Roman pontiffs, incorporated itself by degrees into the church; but it was a preposterous supplement, and was really as foreign to its genuine constitution, as a new *citadel*, *erected* by a successful

this noble and important step, a second bull was issued against him, on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty and disowned the supremacy of the pope [p].

The rise of the Lutheran church.

XV. Such iniquitous laws, enacted against the person and doctrine of Luther, produced an effect different from what was expected by the imperious pontiff. Instead of intimidating this bold reformer, they led him to form the project of founding a church upon principles opposite to those of Rome, and to establish, in it, a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, agreeable to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel of truth. This, indeed, was the only resource left to him; for, to submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of imprudence imaginable; and to embrace, anew, errors which he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle, worthy only of the most abandoned profligate. From this time, therefore, he applied himself to the pursuit of the truth with increased assiduity and fervor; nor did he only review with attention, and confirm by new arguments, what he had hitherto taught, but went far beyond it, and made vigorous attacks upon the principal fortress of popery, the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which he overturned from its very foundation. In this noble undertaking he was seconded by many learned and pious men, in various parts of Europe; by those professors of the university of Wittenberg, who had adopted his principles; and in a more especial manner by the celebrated Melancthon; and, as the fame of Luther's

usurper, would be to an *ancient city*. Luther set out and acted upon this distinction; he went out of the citadel, but he intended to remain in the city, and, like a good patriot, hoped to reform its corrupted government.

[p] Both these bulls are to be found in the Bullarium Romanum, and also in the learned Pfaff's Histor. Theol. Literar.

CENT. XVI.

wisdom and Melancthon's learning had filled that academy with an incredible number of students, who flocked to it from all parts, this happy circumstance propagated the principles of the Reformation with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of Europe [q].

A diet assembled at Worms, in 1521.

XVI. Not long after the commencement of these divisions, Maximilian I. had resigned his breath; and his grandson, Charles I. of Spain and V. of Austria, had succeeded him in the empire in 1519. Leo seised this new occasion of venting and executing his vengeance, by putting the new emperor in mind of his character as 'advocate and defender of the church,' and demanding the exemplary punishment of Luther, who had rebelled against its sacred laws and institutions. On the other hand, Frederic the Wise employed his credit with Charles to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church, and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted, as Charles was under much greater obligations to Frederic than to any other of the German princes; for it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire, in opposition to the pretensions of such a formidable rival as Francis I. king of France. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was disposed to satisfy his demands. That, however, he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontiff, he resolved that Luther should be called before the council which was to be assembled at Worms in 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any definitive sentence should be pronounced against him. It may perhaps appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public

[q] There is a particular account of the rapid progress of the reformation in Germany, given by the learned Daniel Gerdes, professor at Groningen, in his Historia renovati Evangelii.

diet. But it must be considered that these diets, in which the arch-bishops, bishops, and even some abbots, had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for Germany, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of Luther properly belonged.

The result of this diet was Luther's banishment.

XVII. Luther, therefore, appeared at Worms, secured against the violence of his enemies by a safe-conduct from the emperor, and, on the 17th of April, pleaded his cause before that grand assembly with the utmost resolution and presence of mind. Menaces and entreaties were alternately employed to conquer the firmness of his purpose, to engage him to renounce the propositions he had hitherto maintained, and to bend him to a submission to the Roman pontiff. But he opposed all these attempts with a noble obstinacy, and peremptorily declared that he would never abandon his opinions, or change his conduct, unless he should be convinced, by the word of God, or the dictates of right reason, that his opinions were erroneous, and his conduct unlawful. When therefore neither promises nor threats could shake the constancy of this magnanimous reformer, he obtained, indeed, from the emperor, the liberty of returning unmolested to his home: but, after his departure from the diet, he was condemned by the unanimous suffrages both of the emperor and the princes, and was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire[r]. Frederic, who saw the storm rising

[r] This sentence, which was dated the 8th of May, 1521, was excessively severe; and Charles, whether through sincere zeal or political cunning, shewed himself in this affair an ardent abettor of the papal authority; for in this edict the pope is declared the only true judge of the controversy, in which he was evidently a party concerned; Luther is declared a 'member 'cut off from the church, a schismatic, a notorious and obstinate 'heretic;' the severest punishments are denounced against those who shall receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation or writing; and all his disciples, adherents, and followers, are involved in the same condemnation. This edict was, however, received with

CENT. XVI. against Luther, used the best precautions to secure him from its violence. For this purpose he sent three or four persons in whom he could confide, to meet him on his return from the diet, in order to conduct him to a place of safety. These emissaries, disguised by masks, executed their commission with the utmost secrecy and success. Meeting with Luther near Eisenach, they seised him, and carried him into the castle of Wartenberg; nor, as some have imagined upon probable grounds, was this done without the knowlege of his imperial majesty. In this retreat, which he called his Patmos, the reformer lay concealed for ten months, and employed this involuntary leisure in compositions that were afterwards very useful to the world [s].

the highest disapprobation by all wise and thinking persons, 1st. because Luther had been condemned without being heard, at Rome, by the college of cardinals, and afterwards at Worms, where, without any discussion or refutation of his doctrine, he was only despotically ordered to abandon and renounce it; 2dly, because Charles V., as emperor, had not a right to give an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of Luther, or to take for granted the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, before these matters were discussed and decided by a general council; and, 3dly, because a considerable number of the German princes, who were immediately interested in this affair, such as the electors of Cologne, Saxony, and the Palatinate, and other sovereign princes, had neither been present at the diet, nor examined and approved the edict; and, therefore, at best, it could only have force in the territories belonging to the house of Austria, and to such of the princes as had given their consent to its publication. But, after all, this edict produced scarcely any effect, not only for the reasons now mentioned, but also because Charles, whose presence, authority, and zeal, were necessary to render it respectable, was involved in other affairs of a civil nature which he had more at heart. Obliged to pass successively into Flanders, England, and Spain, to quell the seditions of his subjects, and to form new alliances against his great enemy and rival Francis, he lost sight of the edict, while it was treated with the highest indignation or the utmost contempt by all who had any regard for the liberties of the empire and the rights of the Germanic church.

☞ [s] This precaution of the humane and excellent elector being put in execution, on the 3d of May, five days before the solemn publication of the edict of Worms, the pope missed his blow; and the adversaries of Luther became doubly odious to

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The conduct of Luther after his leaving the castle of Wartenberg.

XVIII. His active spirit could not, however, long bear this confinement; he therefore left his Patmos the people in Germany, who, unacquainted with the scheme of Frederic, and not knowing what was become of their favorite reformer, imagined that he was imprisoned, or perhaps destroyed, by the emissaries of Rome. In the mean time, Luther lived in peace and quiet in the castle of Wartenberg, where he translated a great part of the New Testament into the German language, and wrote frequent letters to his trusty friends and intimates to comfort them under his absence. Nor was his confinement here inconsistent with amusement and relaxation; for he frequently enjoyed the pleasure of hunting in company with his keepers, passing for a country gentleman, under the appellation of *Younker George*.

☞ If we cast an eye upon the conduct of Luther, in this first scene of his trials, we shall find a true spirit of rational zeal, generous probity, and Christian fortitude, animating this reformer. In his behaviour, before and at the diet of Worms, we observe these qualities shining with a peculiar lustre, and tempered, notwithstanding the warmth of his complexion, with an unexpected degree of moderation and decent respect both for his civil and ecclesiastical superiors. When some of his friends, informed of the violent designs of the Roman court, and alarmed by the bull that had been published against him by the rash pontiff, advised him not to expose his person at the diet, notwithstanding the imperial safe-conduct (which, in a similar case, had not been sufficient to protect John Huss and Jerome of Prague from the perfidy and cruelty of their enemies), he answered with his usual intrepidity, that "were he obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there; that fear, in his case, could be only a suggestion of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, and who was willing to avoid a public defeat before such a grand assembly." The fire and obstinacy that appeared in this answer seemed to prognosticate much warmth and vehemence in his conduct at the assembly. But it was quite otherwise. He exposed with decency and dignity the superstitious doctrines and practices of the church of Rome, and the grievances that arose from the over-grown power of its pontiff, and the abuse that was made of it. He acknowleged the writings with which he was charged, and offered, both with moderation and humility, to defend their contents. He desired the pope's legates and their adherents to hear him, to inform him, to reason with him; and solemnly offered, in presence of the assembled princes and bishops, to renounce his doctrines, if they were shewn to be erroneous. But to all these expostulations he received no other answer, than the despotic dictates of mere authority, attended with injurious and provoking language.

CENT. XVI. in March, 1522, without the consent or even the knowlege of his patron and protector Frederic, and repaired to Wittenberg. One of the principal motives that engaged him to take this bold step, was the information he had received of the inconsiderate conduct of Carlostadt, and some other friends of the Reformation, who had already excited tumults in Saxony, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the tranquillity of the state, and the true interests of the church. Carlostadt, professor at Wittenberg, was a man of considerable learning, who had pierced the veil, with which papal artifice and superstition had covered the truth, and, at the instigation of Eckius, had been excluded with Luther from the communion of the church. His zeal, however, was intemperate; his plans were laid with temerity, and executed without moderation. During Luther's absence, he threw down and broke the images of the saints that were placed in the churches, and, instead of restraining the vehemence of a fanatical multitude, who had already begun in some places to abuse the precious liberty that was dawning upon them, he encouraged their ill-timed violence, and led them on to sedition and mutiny. Luther opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent reformer with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places; since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course[t], and since the destruction

☞ [t] Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter is perhaps more advantageous to Luther than the rigorous demands of historical impartiality will admit: at least the defects of the great reformer are here shaded with art. It is evident from several passages in the writings of Luther, that he was by no means averse to the use of images, but that, on the contrary, he looked upon them as adapted to excite and animate the devotion of the people. But, perhaps, the true reason of his displeasure at the proceedings of Carlostadt, was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had formed, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the

of the latter alone could be attended with no lasting fruits. To these prudent admonitions this excellent reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself, with redoubled industry and zeal, to his German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success [u], with the assistance of some learned and pious men whom he consulted in this important undertaking. The event abundantly shewed the wisdom of Luther's advice; for the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.

Leo X. succeeded by Adrian VI. in 1522. Diet of Nuremberg.

XIX. During these transactions, Leo died, and was succeeded in the pontificate by Adrian VI. a native of Utrecht. This pope, who had formerly been preceptor to Charles V. and who owed his new dignity to the good offices of that prince, was a man of probity and candor, who acknowleged ingenuously that the church labored under the most fatal disorders, and declared his willingness to apply the remedies that should be judged the most adapted to heal them [w].

only, conductor of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. Luther himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition: and it appears evidently in several of his letters. On the other hand, it must be owned, that Carlostadt was rash, violent, and prone to enthusiasm, as appears by the connexions he formed afterwards with the fanatical anabaptists, headed by Munzer. His contest with Luther about the eucharist, in which he manifestly maintained the truth, shall be mentioned in its proper place.

[u] Of this German translation of the Bible, which contributed more than all other causes, taken together, to strengthen the foundations of the Lutheran church, we have an interesting history composed by Jo. Fred. Mayer, and published at Hamburg in 1701. A more ample one was expected from the labors of the learned J. Melchior Kraft; but his death disappointed the hopes of the learned. See Jo. Alb. Fabricii Centifolium Lutheranum, par. i. p. 147, and par. ii. p. 617.

[w] See Caspar. Burmanni Adrianus VI. sive Analecta Historica de Adriano VI. Papa Romano, published at Utrecht in 1727.

CENT. XVI. He began his pontificate by sending a legate to the diet, which was assembled at Nuremberg in 1522. Francis Cheregato, the person who was intrusted with this commission, had positive orders to demand the speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against Luther and his followers at the diet of Worms; but, at the same time, he was authorised to declare that the pontiff was ready to remove the abuses and grievances that had armed such a formidable enemy against the see of Rome. The princes of the empire, encouraged by this declaration, and also by the absence of the emperor, who at this time resided in Spain, seised this opportunity of proposing the convocation of a general council in Germany, in order to deliberate upon the proper methods of bringing about an universal reformation of the church. They exhibited, at the same time, a hundred articles, containing the heaviest complaints of the injurious treatment which the Germans had hitherto received from the court of Rome, and, by a public law, prohibited all innovation in religious matters, until a general council should decide what ought to be done in an affair of such high importance[x]. As long as the German princes were unacquainted with, or inattentive to, the measures that were taken in Saxony for founding a new church in direct opposition to that of Rome, they were zealously unanimous in their endeavours to set bounds to the papal authority and jurisdiction, which they all looked upon as overgrown and enormous; nor were they at all offended at Luther's contest with the pontiff, which they considered as a dispute of a private and personal nature.

Clement VII. elected pope in 1523.

XX. The good pope Adrian did not long enjoy the pleasure of sitting at the head of the church. He died in 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII., a man of a reserved character, and prone to

[x] See Jac. Fred. Georgii Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedem Romanam, lib. ii. p. 327.

artifice[y]. This pontiff sent to the imperial diet at Nuremberg, in 1524, a cardinal legate, named Campeggio, whose orders, with respect to the affairs of Luther, breathed nothing but severity and violence, and who inveighed against the lenity of the German princes in delaying the execution of the decree of Worms, while he carefully avoided the smallest mention of Adrian's promise of reforming the corruptions of a superstitious church. The emperor seconded the demands of Campeggio, by the orders he sent to his minister to insist upon the execution of the decree. The princes of the empire, tired out by these importunities and remonstrances, changed in appearance the law they had passed, but confirmed it in reality; for, while they promised to observe the edict, as far as was possible, they renewed their demand of a general council, and left all other disputed points to be examined and decided at the diet that was soon to be assembled at Spire. The pope's legate, on the other hand, perceiving by these proceedings, that the German princes in general were no enemies to the Reformation, retired to Ratisbon, with the bishops and those princes who adhered to the cause of Rome, and there drew from them a new declaration, by which they engaged themselves to execute the edict with rigor in their respective dominions. CENT. XVI.

XXI. While the efforts of Luther toward the reformation of the church were so far successful, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign, and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident, was a controversy concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the pope had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends Carlostadt and Zuingle.

[y] See Jac. Zeigleri Historia Clementis VII. in Jo. Georgii Schelhornii Amœnit. Histor. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 210.

CENT. XVI. of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. Luther and his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of Rome with respect to transubstantiation, or the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord's supper received, with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgement, was a mystery, which they did not pretend to explain [z]. Carlostadt, who was Luther's colleague, understood the matter otherwise; and his doctrine, which was afterwards more fully illustrated and confirmed by Zuingle, amounted to this: "That "the body and blood of Christ were not *really* pre- "sent in the eucharist; and that the bread and wine "were no more than external *signs*, or *symbols*, "designed to excite in the minds of Christians the "remembrance of the sufferings and death of the "divine Saviour, and of the benefits which arise "from it [a]." This opinion was embraced by all the friends of the Reformation in Switzerland, and by a considerable number of its votaries in Germany. On the other hand, Luther maintained his doctrine, in

☞ [z] Luther was not so modest as Dr. Mosheim here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the real presence, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. As in a red-hot iron, said he, two distinct substances, namely iron and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the eucharist. I mention this miserable comparison to shew into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius.

[a] See Val. Ern. Löscheri Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos, part i. lib. ii. cap. i.—See, on the other side of the question, Scultet's Annales Evangelii, published by Vonder Hardt in his Historia Liter. Reformat.; also Rud. Hospinianus, and other reformed writers, who have treated of the origin and progress of this dispute.—☞ It appears from this representation (which is a just one) of the sentiments of Zuingle concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, that they were the same with those maintained by bishop Hoadly, in his Plain Account of the Nature and Design of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

relation to this point, with the utmost obstinacy; and hence arose, in 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated, at length, in a mischievous division between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

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XXII. To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effect of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other, and, by its unhappy consequences, proved prejudicial to the cause and progress of the Reformation. In 1525, a prodigious multitude of seditious fanatics suddenly arose, like a whirlwind, in different parts of Germany, took arms, united their forces, waged war against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and exhibited daily the most horrid spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burthens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs; and hence this sedition was called the *Rustic war*, or the war of the peasants[b]. But it is also certain, that this motley crowd was intermixed with numbers, who joined in this sedition from different motives, some being impelled by the suggestions of enthusiasm, and others by the profligate and odious views of rapine and plunder, of repairing fortunes ruined by extra-

The war of the peasants.

[b] These kinds of wars or commotions, arising from the impatience of the peasants, under the heavy burthens that were imposed on them, were very common long before the time of Luther. Hence the author of the Danish Chronicle (published by the learned Ludewig in his Reliq. MStorum) calls these insurrections a *common evil*. This will not appear surprising to such as consider, that, in most places, the condition of the peasants was much more intolerable and grievous before the Reformation, than it is in our times; and that the tyranny and cruelty of the nobility, before that happy period, were excessive and insupportable.

CENT. XVI. vagant and dissolute living. At the first breaking-out of this war, it seemed to have been kindled only by civil and political views; and agreeable to this is the general tenor of the Declarations and Manifestoes that were published by these rioters. The claims they made in these papers related to nothing farther than the diminution of the tasks imposed upon the peasants, and to their obtaining a greater measure of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. Religion seemed to be out of the question; at least, it was not the object of deliberation or debate. But no sooner had the enthusiast Munzer[c] put himself at the head of this outrageous rabble, than the face of things changed entirely; and, by the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in Saxony and Thuringia were soon directed toward a new object, and were turned into a religious war. The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of their number pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to a diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burthens under which they groaned[d]; another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and, to add weight to this requisition, pretended, that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable proportion of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or fixed purpose, and, being infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong without reflexion or

[c] Or Munster, as some call him.

[d] These burthens were the duties of vassalage or feudal services, which, in many respects, were truly grievous.

foresight into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest: so that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters perversely misunderstood the doctrine of Luther concerning Christian liberty, and thence took occasion to commit the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages which arose only from the manifest abuse of it. Luther himself, indeed, sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against the riotous sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. Accordingly, in 1525, the turbulent malcontents were defeated in a pitched battle fought at Mulhausen; and Munzer, their ringleader, was put to death [e].

Frederic the Wise dies, and is succeeded by John, 1525—1527.

XXIII. While this fanatical insurrection raged in Germany, Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, departed this life. This excellent prince, whose character was distinguished by an uncommon degree of prudence and moderation, had, during his life, been a sort of mediator between the Roman pontiff and the reformer of Wittenberg, and had always entertained the pleasing hope of restoring peace in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion. Hence it was, that while he made no opposition to Luther's design of reforming a corrupt and superstitious church, but rather encouraged him in the execution of this pious purpose, yet he was at no pains to introduce any change into the churches which were established in his own dominions, or to subject

[e] "Petri Gnodalii Historia de Seditione repentinâ Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum, anno 1525, tempore verno per universam fere Germaniam exortâ, *Basil*, 1570."—See also B. Tenzelii Histor. Reform. tom. ii. p. 331, and the observations of Ernest Cyprian upon that work.

CENT. XVI. them to his jurisdiction. The elector John, his brother and successor, acted in a very different manner. Convinced of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and persuaded, that it must lose ground and be soon suppressed if the despotic authority of the Roman pontiff remained undisputed and entire, he, without hesitation or delay, assumed to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters which every lawful sovereign may claim as his natural right, and founded and established a church in his dominions, very different from the church of Rome, in doctrine, discipline, and government. To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as was possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions in 1527. He also took care that all the churches should be supplied with pious and learned ministers, and that such of the clergy as dishonored religion by their bad morals, or were incapable, from their want of talents, of promoting its influence, should be removed from the sacred function. The illustrious example of this elector was followed by all the princes and states of Germany that were unfriendly to the papal supremacy and jurisdiction; and similar forms of worship, discipline, and government, were thus introduced into all the churches which dissented from that of Rome. Thus may the elector John be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, which he alone rendered a complete and independent body, distinct from the superstitious church of Rome, and fenced about with salutary laws, with a wise and well-balanced constitution. But as the best blessings may, through the influence of human corruption, become the innocent occasions of great inconveniences, such particularly was the fate of those wise and vigorous

measures which this elector took for the reformation of the church; for, from that time, the religious differences between the German princes, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of moderation, broke out into a violent and lasting flame. The prudence, or rather timidity, of Frederic the Wise, who avoided every resolute measure that might tend to kindle the fire of discord, had preserved a sort of external union and concord among these princes, notwithstanding their difference in opinion. But as soon as his successor, by the open and undisguised steps he took, made it glaringly evident, that he designed to withdraw the churches in his dominions from the jurisdiction of Rome, and to reform the doctrine, discipline, and worship that had been hitherto established, then indeed the scene changed. The union, which was more specious than solid, and which was far from being well cemented, was suddenly dissolved: the spirits were heated and divided, and an open rupture ensued among the German princes, of whom one party embraced the Reformation, while the other adhered to the superstitions of their forefathers.

The diet of Spire in 1526.

XXIV. Affairs being reduced to this violent and troubled state, the patrons of popery gave intimations that were far from being ambiguous, of their intention to make *war* upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by *force* the doctrines which they were incapable of overturning by *argument*; and this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of Europe disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, informed of these hostile intentions, began to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy that might answer this prudent purpose. In the mean time the diet, assembled at Spire in 1526, at which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a manner more favorable to the friends of the Reformation, than they could naturally expect.

CENT. XVI. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the edict of Worms. The greatest part of the German princes strongly opposed this motion, declaring, that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter should be submitted to the cognisance of a general council lawfully assembled; alleging farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and, at length, consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and a general council; and it was also agreed, that, in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner which they might deem the most expedient, yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration, when it should be demanded of them.

The progress of the reformation after the diet at Spire in 1527.

XXV. Nothing could be more favorable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor was, at this time, so entirely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in France, Spain, and Italy, which exhibited, from day to day, new scenes of perplexity, that, for some years, it was not in his power to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which was beset with difficulties that, to a reflecting politician like Charles, must have appeared peculiarly critical and dangerous. Besides, had he really possessed leisure to form, or power to execute, a plan that might terminate, in

favor of the Roman pontiff, the religious disputes which prevailed in Germany, it is evident that the inclination was wanting, and that Clement VII., who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of Charles; for this pontiff, after the defeat of Francis at the battle of Pavia, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in Italy, entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against that prince. This measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of Charles to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope, laid siege to Rome in 1527, blocked up Clement in the castle of St. Angelo, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of Spire, were prudently and industriously improved, by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, publicly renounced the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the pope, were far from manifesting any intention of opposing those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the church of Rome. And all the Germans who, before the resolutions of the diet of Spire, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistency, and in adding vigor and firm-

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CENT. XVI. ness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the mean time, Luther and his fellow-laborers, particularly those who were with him at Wittenberg, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

Another diet at Spire in 1529. Origin of the denomination of Protestants.

XXVI. But the tranquillity and liberty they enjoyed, in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first diet of Spire, were not of long duration. They were interrupted by a new diet assembled in 1529, in the same place, by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of Europe, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement. This prince, having now, in a great measure, shaken off the burthen that had for some time overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct the affairs of the church; and this the reformers soon felt by a disagreeable experience. For the power, which had been granted by the former diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical matters as he thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes, and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known [f]. This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and such other members of the diet, as were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor was

[f] The resolution of the first diet of Spire, which had been taken unanimously, was revoked in the second, and another substituted in its place by a plurality of voices, which, as several of the princes then present observed, could not give to any decree the force of a law throughout the empire.

any one so simple, or so little acquainted with the politics of Rome, as to look upon the promise of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light, than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of Rome, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical state of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon Ferdinand [g], or upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions (whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations), they entered a solemn *protest* against this decree, on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council [h]. Hence arose the denomination of *Protestants*, given from this period to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the church of Rome. CENT. XVI.

XXVII. The dissenting princes, who were the protectors and heads of the reformed churches, had no sooner entered their protest, than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from Spain to Italy, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this affair. The ministers employed in this commission, executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes, whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain. The emperor, Leagues formed between the protestants.

☞ [g] As the emperor was at Barcelona, while this diet was held at Spire, his brother Ferdinand was president in his place.

☞ [h] The princes of the empire, who entered this protest, and are consequently to be considered as the first protestant princes, were John, elector of Saxony, George, elector of Brandenburg, for Franconia, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt. These princes were supported by thirteen imperial towns, viz. Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Rottingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Nordlingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Heilbron, Weissenburg, and St. Gall.

CENT. XVI. whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons that dared to oppose his designs, ordered the ambassadors to be apprehended, and detained for several days. Intelligence of this violent step was soon brought to the protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety, and the success of their cause, depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented by a solemn confederacy. They, therefore, held several meetings at Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies[1]. But so different were their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

The conference at Marpurg, in 1529.

XXVIII. Among the incidents that promoted animosity and discord between the friends of the Reformation, and prevented that union which was so much to be desired among persons embarked in the same good cause, the principal one was the dispute that had arisen between the divines of Saxony and Switzerland, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the *eucharist*. To terminate this controversy, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, invited, in 1529, to a conference at Marpurg, Luther and Zuingle, with some of the most eminent doctors who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs. This expedient, which was designed by that truly magnanimous prince, not so much to end the matter by keen debate, as to accommodate differences by the conciliatory spirit of charity and prudence, was not attended with the salutary fruits that were expected from it. The divines that were assembled for this pacific purpose disputed, during four

[1] See the history of the confession of Augsburg, written in German by the learned Christ. Aug. Salig, tom. i. book ii. ch. i. p. 128, and more especially an important work by Dr. Joachim Muller, entitled Historie von der Evangelischen Stande Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichs-Abscheid von 1529, Appellation, &c. published at Jena in 1705.

days, in presence of the landgrave. The principal champions in these debates were Luther, who attacked Œcolampadius, and Melancthon, who disputed against Zuingle; and the controversy turned upon several points of theology, in relation to which the Swiss doctors were supposed to entertain erroneous sentiments. For Zuingle was accused of heresy, not only on account of his explication of the nature and design of the Lord's Supper, but also in consequence of the false notions which he was supposed to have adopted, relating to the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious reformer cleared himself, however, from the greatest part of these accusations, with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared entirely satisfactory, even to Luther himself. The dissension concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify, their opinion of that matter[k]. The only advantage, therefore, that resulted from this conference, was, that the jarring doctors formed a sort of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their respective sentiments, and leaving the cure of their divisions to the disposal of Providence, and the effect of time, which sometimes cools the rage of party.

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XXIX. The ministers of the churches which had embraced the sentiments of Luther, were preparing a new ambassy to the emperor, when an account was received of the intention of that prince to come into Germany, with a view of terminating, in the approaching diet at Augsburg, the religious disputes which had produced such animosities and divisions

The diet of Augsburg

[k] Val. Ern. Löscheri Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143.—Henr. Bullingeri Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis, in Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's Beytragen zur Schweizer Reformat. Geschichte, tom. iii.—Abr. Sculteti Annal. Reformat. ad annum 1529.—Rudolphi Hospiniani Histor. Sacramentor. par. ii.

CENT. XVI. in the empire. Charles, though long absent from Germany, and engaged in affairs that left him little leisure for theological disquisitions, was nevertheless attentive to these disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had also, to his own deliberate reflexions upon these disputes, added the counsels of men of wisdom, sagacity, and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings, and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties and of the merits of the cause. He therefore, in an interview with the pope at Bologna, insisted, in the most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move Clement, who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives, imputed to the emperor an ill-judged clemency, and alleged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate *heretical* faction, who dared to call in question the authority of Rome and its pontiff. The imperial potentate was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn, unheard, and to destroy, without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had in various respects deserved well of their country. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for Charles to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since no regular system had yet been composed of the doctrines embraced by Luther and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontiff, might be known with certainty. As, therefore, it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy, or decide with equity, a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of Rome

and the friends of the Reformation, the elector of Saxony ordered Luther, and other eminent divines, to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of Rome. Luther, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector, at Torgaw, the seventeen articles which had been drawn up and voted in the conference at Sultzbach in 1529; and hence they were called the *articles of Torgaw*[1]. Though these articles were deemed by Luther a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to the arguments, and thereby strength to the cause. It was this consideration that engaged the protestant princes, assembled at Coburg and Augsburg, to employ Melancthon in extending these articles, in which important work he shewed a due regard to the counsels of Luther, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view the famous *confession of Augsburg*, which did such honor to the acute judgement and the eloquent pen of Melancthon. CENT. XVI.

XXX. During these transactions in Germany, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the reformation spread itself far and wide; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broken their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. And thus it appears that Clement was not impelled by a false alarm to demand of the emperor the speedy extirpa- The progress of the reformation in Sweden, about the year 1530.

[1] See Chr. Aug. Heumanni Diss. de Lenitate Augustanæ Confess. in Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar. tom. i. p. 14.—Jo. Joach. Muller's Historia Protestationis; and the other writers who have treated, either of the Reformation in general, or of the confession of Augsburg in particular.

CENT. XVI. tion of the reformers, since he had the strongest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his spiritual empire. The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples, whose name was Olaus Petri, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited prince, Gustavus Vasa Ericson, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne in the place of Christiern, king of Denmark, whose horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutal usurper, now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but, having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at Lubeck, he was there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of Luther, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favorable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and always accompanied it: and as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, recommended by custom, and the doctrine of Luther, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees in a manner suitable to the principles of the reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence[m]. Accordingly, the first ob-

[m] This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once, while he was absent from Stockholm, a great number of German anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of Munzer, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to extremities, and pulled down with fury the images

ject of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom Petri's Swedish translation of the Bible[n]. Some time after this, in 1526, he appointed a conference, at Upsal, between this eminent reformer and Peter Gallius, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. The dispute, in which Olaus obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm Gustavus in his persuasion of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and to promote its progress in Sweden. In the following year, another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success; and this was the assembly of the states at Westeraas, where the king recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops in particular, it was voted that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free admittance among the Swedes[o]. This reso- CENT. XVI.

and other ornaments of the churches, while the Lutherans dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But Gustavus no sooner returned to Stockholm, than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seised and punished, and assailed the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed them in time.

[n] It is very remarkable, and shews the equity and candor of Gustavus in the most striking point of light, that while he ordered Olaus Petri to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, he gave permission at the same time to the archbishop of Upsal, to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of Rome; that, by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. The bishops at first opposed this order, but were at length obliged to submit.

[o] It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of Gustavus, since there was no country in Europe where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in

CENT. XVI. lution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre, and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch [P]. Thus the papal empire in Sweden was overturned, and the king acted thenceforward as head of the church.

In Denmark. XXXI. The light of the reformation was also received in Denmark, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian or Christiern II. of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of Luther. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty (either the effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition and tyranny of Rome. For this purpose, in 1520, he sent for Martin Reinard, one of the disciples of

Sweden and Denmark. Most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign; they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent of the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the state. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while many of the nobles were in misery and want. The resolution formed by the states assembled at Westeraas, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine, as to reform the discipline of the church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions which their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was however resolved, at the same time, that the church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the Reformation.

[P] Bazii Inventarium Eccles. Sueco-Gothor. published at Lincoping in 1642. Sculteti Annales Evangelii Renovati, in Von-der-Hardt's Histor. Liter. Reformat. part v. p. 83 et 110. Raynal, Anecdotes Hist. Politiques et Militaires, tom. i. part ii.

Carlostadt, out of Saxony, and appointed him professor of divinity at Copenhagen; and after his death, which happened in the following year, he invited Carlostadt himself to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but, after a short residence in Denmark, returned into Germany. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to engage Luther to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and, indeed, to the suppression of the jurisdiction, exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff. CENT. XVI.

It is, however, proper to observe, that, in all these proceedings, Christiern was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigor to his reformative projects.

His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently shew, that he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy, both in church and state, and to find a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority, and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped [q], and which he wished to appropriate to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprise. The states of the kingdom, being exasperated, some by his schemes for destroying the liberty of Denmark, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors [r], and all by his savage

[q] See Jo. Gramii Diss. de Reformatione Daniæ à Christierno tentatâ, in the third volume of the Scriptor. Societ. Scientiarum Hafniens. p. 1—90.

[r] See, for a confirmation of this part of the accusation, a curious piece, containing the reasons that induced the states of Denmark to renounce their allegiance to Christiern. This piece is to be found in the fifth volume of Ludewig's compilation, en-

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and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in 1523, by which he was deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle Frederic, duke of Holstein, placed on the Danish throne.

The progress of the Reformation in the reigns of Frederic and Christiern III.

XXXII. This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation, than his predecessor had done. He permitted the protestant doctors to preach publicly the opinions of Luther[s], but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the reformation, by his successful attempts in favor of religious liberty, in the assembly of the states holden at Odensee in 1527; for it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of Denmark free, either to adhere to the tenets of the church of Rome, or to embrace the doctrine of Luther[t]. Encouraged by this resolution, the protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success, that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the church of Rome. But the honor of finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign

titled, Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum, in which the states of Denmark express their displeasure at the royal favor shewn to the Lutherans, in the following terms: "Lutheranæ hæresis pullulatores, contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit; doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit."

[s] See Jo. Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 886.—Christ. Olivarii Vita Pauli Eliæ, p. 108.—Erici Pontoppidani Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ, tom. iii. p. 139.

[t] It was farther provided by this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion; that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclesiastics, of whatever rank or order, should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monasteries, or other religious societies.

of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for Christiern III., a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagius, whom the king had invited from Wittenberg to perform that arduous task, for which his eminent piety, learning, and moderation, rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the states at Odensee, in 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the reformation was brought to perfection in Denmark [u].

A distinction to be observed when we speak of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark.

XXXIII. It is however to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions, and that of the episcopal order; for, though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that one might have been completely transacted without the other. A reform of doctrine might have been effected, without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and, on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds, without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and which was generally received [w]. In the

[u] See a German work of the learned Eric Pontoppidan, entitled, A Compendious View of the History of the Reformation in Denmark; as also the Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ, of the same author, tom. ii. iii.—See also the work of Henry Muhl, de Reformat. Religionis in vicinis Daniæ Regionibus et potissimum in Cimbria, in ejus Dissertationibus Historico-Theologicis.

[w] This observation is not worthy of Dr. Mosheim's sagacity. The strong connexion between superstitious ignorance

CENT. XVI. measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure: neither fraud nor violence were employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity and the spirit of Christianity. The same judgement cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here, certainly, violence was used, and the bishops were deprived of their honors, privileges, and possessions, without their consent; indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition [x]. The truth is, that so

among the people, and influence and power in their spiritual rulers, is too evident to stand in need of any proof. A good clergy will, or ought to have an influence, in consequence of a respectable office, adorned with learning, piety, and morals; but the power of a licentious and despotic clergy can be only supported by the blind and superstitious credulity of their flock.

☞ [x] What does Dr. Mosheim mean here? Did ever an usurper give up his unjust possessions without reluctance? Does rapine constitute a right, when it is maintained by force? Is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, whether the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from Christiern III.; and our author seems to answer this question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary, in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance; all the church lands, towns, and fortresses, were annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy abolished. It is also certain, that Luther himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to Christiern, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with moderation on this subject, and to grant, that, if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive. Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as Dr. Mosheim seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of influence, and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its prerogative. But disquisitions of this nature

far as the reformation in Sweden and Denmark regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; for a change here had become so necessary, that, had Luther and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator; for the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had gotten into their hands such enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper, and, in effect, they already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such, therefore, was the critical state of these northern kingdoms, in the time of Luther, that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonored, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the state exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin. CENT. XVI.

The rise and progress of the reformation in France.

XXXIV. The kingdom of France was not inaccessible to the light of the Reformation. Margaret queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I., the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of Charles V., was inclined to favor the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had so long lain disguised. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess

are foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that, in the room of the bishops, Christiern created an order of men, with the denomination of *Superintendants*, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office without the least shadow of temporal authority.

CENT. XVI. encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with her's, to propagate the principles of the Reformation in France, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost disgust to the doctrine and tyranny of Rome; and among these were many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened, to support the doctrine of Rome, by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet; and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity[y]. Although this cruelty, instead of retarding, accelerated the progress of the Reformation, yet, in the reign of Francis, the restorers of genuine Christianity were not always equally successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they seemed to enjoy the auspicious shade of royal protection; at others they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons they were forgotten, which oblivion rendered their condition tolerable. Francis, who had either no religion at all, or, at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself toward the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and the public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy Charles V., he treated the protestants

[y] See Beza, Histoire des Eglises Reformeés de France, tom. i. —Benoit, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, liv. i.—Christ. Aug. Salig, Histor. August. Confessionis, vol. ii.

in France with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but, so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, he threw off the mask, and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable and persecuting tyrant [z]. CENT. XVI.

About this time the famous Calvin, upon whose character, talents, and religious exploits, we shall have occasion to dwell more amply in the course of this history, began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of Navarre. He was born at Noyon in Picardy, on the 10th of July, 1509, and was bred to the law [a], in which, as well as in all the other branches of literature, then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid and amazing success. Having acquired the knowlege of religion, by a diligent perusal of the holy scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils; and the connexions he had formed with the friends of the Reformation, whom Francis was frequently committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of Navarre. To escape the impend-

[z] The inconsistency and contradiction that were visible in the conduct of Francis I. may be attributed to various causes. At one time, we see him resolved to invite Melanchthon into France, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of Navarre, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the protestants. At another time, we behold him exercising the most infernal cruelty toward the friends of the Reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, that, "if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would order it to be cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the catholic church." See Flor. de Remond, Hist. de la Naissance et du Progrès de l'Heresie.

[a] He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice; but the light that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference given by his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastic vocation, which he afterwards resumed in a purer church.

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ing storm, he retired to Basil, where he published his Christian Institutions; and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis, which has attracted the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince against the protestants [b].

And in the other states of Europe.

XXXV. The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of Rome, in the other European states, were few in number, before the diet of Augsburg, and were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous, to make much noise in the world. It, however, appears from the most authentic testimonies, that, even before that period, the doctrine of Luther had made a considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had, in all these countries, many friends, of whom several repaired to Wittenberg, to improve their knowlege and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves, in a public and constitutional manner, from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the blessed Reformation; rejected the doctrines and authority of Rome; and, notwithstanding the calamities and persecutions they have suffered, on account of their sentiments, under the sceptre of bigotry and superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrines of Christianity; while in other, still more unhappy, lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds,

☞ [b] This paragraph relating to Calvin, is added to Dr. Mosheim's text by the translator, who was surprised to find, in a History of the Reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the Reformers; all of whom he surpassed, at least, in learning and parts, as he also did the greater part of them in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.

have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth. It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman catholics themselves acknowlege it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority, would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument. CENT. XVI.

CHAPTER III.

The History of the Reformation, from the Time when the Confession of Augsburg was presented to Charles V., until the Commencement of the War which succeeded the League of Smalcald.

I. THE diet was opened at Augsburg on the 20th day of June, 1530; and, as it was unanimously agreed, that the affairs of religion should be discussed before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the protestant members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the diet an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, Christian Bayer, chancellor of Saxony, read, in the German language, in presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, the famous confession which has been since distinguished by the denomination of the *Confession of Augsburg*. The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind; it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprised others; and many, who, before this time, had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of Luther, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but were, moreover, delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this confession, which, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, were signed and subscribed by John, elector of Saxony, by four princes of the empire, namely, George, marquis of Brandenburg; The confession of Augsburg presented to Charles V.

CENT. XVI. Ernest, duke of Lunenburg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt; and by the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen; who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it [c].

The nature and contents of the confession of Augsburg.

II. The tenor and contents of the confession of Augsburg are well known; at least, by all who have the smallest acquaintance with ecclesiastical history; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the protestants as the rule of their faith. The style that reigns in it is plain, elegant, grave, and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of Melancthon. The *matter* was, undoubtedly, supplied by Luther, who, during the diet, resided at Coburg, a town in the neighbourhood of Augsburg; and even the form it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authorised by his approbation and advice. This confession contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part [d] are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of Rome [e].

[c] There is a very voluminous history of the diet, which was published in 1577, at Frankfort on the Oder, by the laborious George Celestine. The history of the Confession of Augsburg was composed in Latin by David Chytræus, and more recently in German, by Ern. Solom. Cyprian and Christopher Aug. Salig. The performance of the latter is rather, indeed, a history of the Reformation in general, than of the Confession of Augsburg in particular. That of Cyprian is more concise and elegant, and is confirmed by original pieces, which are equally authentic and curious.

[d] Twenty-one chapters were so employed; the other seven contained a detail of the errors and superstitions of the Romish church.

☞ [e] It is proper to observe here, that, while the Lutherans presented their confession to the diet, another excellent remonstrance of the same nature was addressed to this august assembly by the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindaw, which had rejected the errors and jurisdiction of Rome, but did not enter into the Lutheran league, because they had adopted

The Roman catholics attempt a refutation of it.

III. The creatures of the Roman pontiff, who were present at this diet, employed John Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienne in Dauphiné, together with Eckius, and another doctor named Cochlæus, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation having been read publicly in the assembly, the emperor required of the protestant members that they would acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand was far from being complied with. The protestants declared, on the contrary, that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who, on this occasion, as well as on several others, shewed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candor, and justice. He even interposed his supreme authority to suspend any farther proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the protestants to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by Faber, and again had recourse to the pen of Melanchthon, who refuted them in an ample and satis-

the opinions of Zuingle in relation to the eucharist. The declaration of these four towns (called for that reason the *Tetrapolitan Confession*) was drawn up by the excellent Martin Bucer, and was considered as a master-piece of reasoning and eloquence, not only by the protestants, but even by several of the Roman catholics; and among others by M. Du-Pin. Zuingle also sent to this diet a private confession of his religious opinions. It is, however, remarkable, that though Bucer composed a separate remonstrance, his name appears among the subscribers at Smalcald, in 1537, to the confession of Augsburg, and to Melanchthon's defence of it.

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factory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor, but which that prince refused to receive. This answer was afterwards enlarged by Melanchthon, when he had obtained a copy of Faber's reply, and was published in 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of 'A Defence of the Confession of Augsburg.'

Deliberations concerning the method to be used in terminating this dispute.

IV. There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which it was, in reality, most difficult to reconcile. The first and the most rational method was to grant, to those who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of Rome, the liberty of following their private judgement in matters of a religious nature, and the privilege of serving God according to the dictates of their consciences, with a proviso that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed. The second, and, at the same time, the shortest and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had so magnanimously thrown off. Some thought of a middle way, which was equally remote from the difficulties that attended the two methods now mentioned, and proposed that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigor of their pretensions, and remit some of their respective claims. The first method, which seemed agreeable to the dictates of reason, charity, and justice, was highly approved by several wise and good men, on both sides; but it was ill-suited to the arrogant ambition of the pontiff, and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld with horror whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgement. The second method, being violent and inhuman, was more agreeable to the spirit and

sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguinary zeal of the court of Rome: but the emperor had sufficient prudence and equity to induce him to reject it; and it appeared shocking to those who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was therefore most generally approved: it was peculiarly agreeable to all who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire; nor did the pope seem to look upon it either with aversion or contempt. Hence various conferences ensued between persons of eminence, piety, and learning, who were chosen for that purpose from both sides; and nothing was omitted that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties[f]; but all endeavours proved fruitless, since the difference of opinion was too considerable and too important to admit a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of Melanchthon appeared in their true and genuine colors; and it was here that the votaries of Rome exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the in-

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☞ [f] As in the confession of Augsburg there were three sorts of articles; one sort orthodox, and adopted by both sides; another that consisted of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of Luther was entirely opposite to that of Rome; this gave some reason to hope, that by the means of certain concessions and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candor and charity, matters might at last be accommodated. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on this salutary work, at first seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines; which number was afterwards reduced to three. As Luther's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendered him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences; but he was constantly consulted by the Protestant party, and it was with a view to this that he resided at Coburg.

CENT. XVI. fluence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure, to comply with their demands; but, when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did he appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardor, and independence, animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

The result of these conferences.

V. As this method of terminating the religious debates between the friends of liberty and the votaries of Rome, proved ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were disavowed by the dictates of reason and the precepts of the Gospel. These measures were, the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th day of November, a severe decree was issued, by the express order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and, in this decree, every thing was manifestly calculated to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble (in about six months after the separation of the diet) a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled, beyond measure, in this partial decree; new degrees of severity and force were added to the edict of Worms; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches, were severely censured; and a solemn order was addressed to the princes, states, and cities, that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to Rome,

on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church [g].

The league of Smalcald.

VI. No sooner were the elector of Saxony and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In 1530, and the following year, they met, first at Smalcald, afterwards at Frankfort, and formed a solemn alliance, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of Augsburg, without attempting, however, any thing positively offensive against the votaries of Rome. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of England, France, and Denmark, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance [h]. Amidst these intrigues and preparations,

[g] To give the greater degree of weight to this edict, it was resolved, that no judge who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of Spire, which was the supreme court in Germany. The emperor also, and the popish princes, engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and to promote its execution.

[h] Luther, who at first seemed averse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, at length perceived its necessity, and consented to it; but, uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused to comprehend in it the followers of Zuingle among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer. And yet we find that the cities of Ulm and Augsburg had embraced the Reformation on the principles of Zuingle. In the invitation addressed to Henry VIII., whom the associated princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following points were expressly stipulated among several others: viz. That the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, as it was contained in the confession of Augsburg, and defend the same at the next general council;—that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of Rome, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees, nor suffer them to

CENT. XVI. which portended an approaching rupture, the electors of Mentz and of the Palatinate offered their mediation, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending princes. With respect to the emperor, various reasons united to turn his views towards peace. For, on the one hand, he stood in need of succours against the Turks, which the protestant princes refused to grant while the edicts of Worms and Augsburg remained in force; and, on the other, the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been concluded by a majority of votes, at the diet of Cologne in 1531, was contested by the same princes as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire.

The peace of Nuremberg.

VII. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed; and, after various negotiations, a treaty of peace was concluded at Nuremberg, in 1532, between the emperor and the

be respected in his dominions; that he should never allow the pontiff to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions; —that he should advance 100,000 crowns for the use of the confederacy, and double that sum if it should appear to be necessary; all which articles the confederate princes were obliged equally to observe on their parts. To these demands the king answered, immediately, in a manner that was not satisfactory. He declared, that he would maintain and promote the true doctrine of Christ; but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what should be his faith, or that of his kingdoms, and therefore desired they would send over learned men to confer with him, in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He moreover declared himself of their opinion with respect to the meeting of a free general council, and promised to join with them, in all such councils, for the defence of the true doctrine; but thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. After this, he gave them a second answer more full and satisfactory; but, upon the fall of Anne Boleyn, this negotiation proved abortive. On the one hand, the king grew cold, when he perceived that the confederates could no longer be of service to him in supporting the validity of his marriage; and, on the other, the German princes were sensible that they could never succeed with Henry, unless they would allow him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.

protestant princes, on the following conditions; that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turks, and acknowlege Ferdinand as lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor should annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith should be fixed, either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement, when John, elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederic, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign, however, was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities. CENT. XVI.

VIII. The religious truce, concluded at Nuremberg, inspired with new vigor and resolution all the friends of the reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, now spurned his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in Germany, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standard of Luther. On the other hand, as all hopes of terminating the religious debates that divided Europe were founded in the meeting of a general and independent council, so solemnly promised, Charles renewed his earnest request to Clement, that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontiff, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse [i]. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off A council expected in vain.

☞ [i] Beside the fear of seeing his authority diminished by a general council, another reason engaged Clement to avoid an assembly of that nature; for, being conscious of the illegitimacy

CENT. XVI. the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently shewed, that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He indeed, in 1533, made a proposal by his legate, to assemble a council at Mantua, Placentia, or Bologna; but the protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted, that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of Germany, should be decided within the limits of the empire. The pope, by his usual artifices, eluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in 1534, in the midst of his stratagems [k].

IX. His successor Paul III. seemed to shew less reluctance to the convocation of a general council, and even appeared disposed to comply with the desire of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at Mantua; and, in the following year, he actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under his jurisdiction [l]. The protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded, that, in such a council [m], all things would be carried by

of his birth, as Father Paul observes, he had ground to fear that the Colonnas, or his other enemies, might plead this circumstance before the council, as a reason for his exclusion from the pontificate, since it might be well questioned whether a *bastard* could be a pope, though it is known, from many instances, that a *profligate* may.

[k] See an ample account of every thing relative to this council in Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, book i.

☞ [l] This council was summoned by Paul III. to assemble at Mantua, on the 23d of May, 1537, but several obstacles prevented its meeting. Frederic, duke of Mantua, was not much inclined to receive at once so many guests, some of whom might be very turbulent, into the place of his residence.

☞ [m] That is, in a council assembled by the authority of the pope alone, and that also in Italy; two circumstances that must have greatly contributed to give Paul an undue influence in that assembly. The protestants maintained, that the emperor and the other Christian princes of Europe had a right to be *authoritatively* concerned in calling a general council; so much the more, as the pontiff was evidently one of the parties in the present debate.

the votaries of Rome, and nothing concluded but what might be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff, assembled at Smalcald in 1537; and there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council as that which was convoked by Paul, but, at the same time, had a new summary of their doctrine drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it should be required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the *Articles of Smalcald*, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church. CENT. XVI.

X. During these transactions, two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the Reformation in particular, and produced, in Germany, civil tumults and commotions of the most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former event was a new sedition, excited by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the Anabaptists; and the latter, the rupture between Henry VIII. and the Roman pontiff, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch. Outrages committed by the Anabaptists.

In 1533, there came to Munster, a city in Westphalia, a certain number of Anabaptists, who surpassed the rest of that fanatical tribe in the extravagance of their proceedings, the phrensy of their disordered brains, and the madness of their pretensions and projects. They gave themselves out for the messengers of Heaven, invested with a divine commission to lay the foundations of a new government, a holy and spiritual empire, and to destroy and overturn all temporal rule and authority, all human and political institutions. Having turned all things into confusion and uproar at Munster by this seditious and extravagant declaration, they began to erect a

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new republic [n], conformable to their absurd and chimerical notions of religion, and committed the administration of it to John Bockholt, a taylor by profession, and a native of Leyden. Their reign, however, was of a short duration; for, in 1535, the city was besieged, and taken by the bishop of Munster, assisted by other German princes; this fanatical king and his wrong-headed associates were put to death in the most terrible and ignominious manner, and the new hierarchy destroyed with its furious and extravagant founders. This outrageous conduct of a handful of Anabaptists drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers were devoted to death in the most dreadful forms [o].

Great Britain renounces the spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy of the pope.

XI. The pillars of papal despotism were at this time shaken in England, by an event, which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences. Henry VIII., a prince who, in vices and in abilities, was surpassed by none who swayed the sceptre in this age, and who, in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of Luther with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in this great revolution [p]. Bound in the

[n] This fanatical establishment they distinguished by the title of the *New Jerusalem*.

[o] Hermanni Hamelmanni Historia Eccles. renati Evangelii per inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphal. part ii.—De Printz, Specimen Historiæ Anabapt. c. x. xi. xii.

☞ This sect was, in process of time, considerably reformed by the ministry of two Friselanders, Ubbo and Mennon, who purified it from the enthusiastic, seditious, and atrocious principles of its first founders, as will be seen in the progress of this history.

☞ [p] Among the various portraits that have been given by historians of Henry VIII., there is not one that equals the

chains of matrimony to Catharine of Arragon, aunt to Charles V., but at the same time captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, whose name was Anne Boleyn, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter [q]. For this purpose, he addressed himself to Clement VII. in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine, alleging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother Arthur, and as it was repugnant to the divine law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. The pope was greatly perplexed upon this occasion, by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor, if his decision should be favorable to Henry; and therefore he contrived

masterly one drawn by Mr. Hume. This great painter, whose coloring, in other subjects, is sometimes more artful than accurate, has caught from nature the striking lines of Henry's motley character, and thrown them into a composition, in which they appear with the greatest truth, set out with all the powers of expression.

☞ [q] From Dr. Mosheim's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of Anne Boleyn were the only motive that engaged Henry to dissolve his marriage with Catharine. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of that marriage, before his acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate Anne. Conversant in the writings of Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen, who looked upon the Levitical law as of moral and permanent obligation, and attentive to the remonstrances of the bishops, who declared his marriage unlawful, he was filled with anxious doubts which had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen, before his affections had been engaged by any other. This appears by cardinal Wolsey's proposing a marriage between his majesty and the sister of Francis I. which that pliant courtier would never have done, had he known that the king's affections were otherwise engaged. After all, it is very possible, that the age and infirmities of Catharine, together with the blooming charms of Anne Boleyn, tended much to animate Henry's remorse, and to render his conscience more scrupulous. See Burnet's History of the Reformation, and Hume's History of Great Britain.

CENT. XVI. various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain promises, and tardy proceedings of the pontiff, Henry had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous Thomas Cranmer, who was a secret friend to Luther and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the see of Canterbury. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favorable to his views. The greatest part of the universities declared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful. Catharine was consequently divorced; Anne was conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Clement; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of Rome, by Henry's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontiff. Soon after this, the king was declared by the parliament and people supreme head, on earth, of the church of England; the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned [r].

The nature and effects of this first step towards the Reformation in England.

XII. It is however carefully to be observed here, that Henry's subversion of the papal authority in England was not productive of much benefit, either to the friends or to the cause of the reformation; for the same monarch, who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of Rome, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, with

[r] Beside the full and accurate account of this and other important events, that may be found in bishop Burnet's excellent History of the Reformation of the Church of England, the curious reader will do well to consult the records of this memorable revolution in Wilkins' Concil. Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, tom. iii.—Raynal's Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, tom. i.—Gen. Dictionary at the article Boleyn.

its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Besides, he considered the title of Head of the English Church, as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and indeed usurped, by the Roman pontiffs; and, in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorised to prescribe modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence it came to pass, that, during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of archbishop Cranmer, who was the favorite of the king, and the friend of the Reformation, counteracted, however, in many instances, the humor and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise counsels of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favor of popery, and considerably increased the number of those who wished well to the Reformation[s].

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XIII. After the meeting of the council of Mantua was prevented, various measures were taken, and many schemes proposed, by the emperor on the one hand, and the protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But these measures and projects were unattended with any solid or salutary fruit, and were generally disconcerted by the intrigues and artifice of the court of Rome, whose legates and creatures were always lying in wait to blow the flame of discord in all those councils which seemed unfavorable to the

A new project of pacification.

[s] Beside Burnet's History of the Reformation, see Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i.

CENT. XVI. ambition of its pontiffs. In 1541, the emperor, regardless of the pope's authority, appointed a conference at Worms, on the subject of religion, between persons of piety and learning chosen from each party. It was here that Melanchthon and Eckius disputed for three days [t]. This conference was, for certain reasons, removed to the diet holden at Ratisbon in the same year, in which the principal subject of deliberation was a memorial, presented by a person unknown, containing a project of peace, with the terms of accommodation that were proper to terminate these religious differences [u]. This conference, however, produced no other effect, than a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer the decision of their pretensions and debates to a general council; or, if the meeting of such a council should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next German diet.

Conference at Worms.

Diet of Ratisbon.

All things tend to an open rupture.

XIV. This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded the diet of Ratisbon, and by various incidents that widened the breach, and delayed the deliberations which were designed to heal it. It is true, the pontiff ordered his legate to declare in the diet, which was assembled at Spire in 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that Trent should be the place of its meeting, if the diet had no objection to that city. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and the princes who adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this proposal; while the protestant members of the diet objected both to a council summoned by the papal authority alone, and also to the place appointed for its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council, which should not be influenced by the dictates, or awed by the proximity of the pontiff. This protestation produced no effect; Paul persisted

[t] See Jo. And. Roederi Libellus de Colloquio Wormatiensi. Norimb. 1744.

[u] See Jo. Erdmanni Bieckii Triplex Interim, cap. i.

in his purpose, and issued his circular letters for the convocation of the council [w], with the approbation of the emperor; while this prince endeavoured, at the diet of Worms, in 1545, to persuade the protestants to consent to the meeting of this council at Trent. But they were fixed in their resolution, and the efforts of Charles were vain; upon which the emperor,

☞ [w] It is proper to observe here, that having summoned successively a council at Mantua, Vicenza, and Venice, without any effect (for the council did not meet), this pontiff thought it necessary to shew the protestants that he was not averse to every kind of reformation; and therefore appointed four cardinals, and five other persons eminent for their learning, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church in general, and of the church of Rome in particular, well knowing, by the spirit which reigned in the conclave, that the project would come to nothing. A plan, however, was drawn up by the persons appointed for that purpose. The reformation proposed in this plan was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contained some particulars, which scarcely could have been expected from the pens of those who composed it. They complained, for instance, of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men; and, that, therefore, care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, nonresidence, and pluralities. They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the colloquies of Erasmus should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of St. Antony, and several other saints, should be abolished; and (which was the best of all their proposals) that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. Peter's church; and declared, that it was a great scandal to see the prostitutes lodged so magnificently at Rome, and riding through the streets on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation (which Luther and Sturmius of Strasburg turned into ridicule, and which indeed left unredressed the most intolerable grievances of which the protestants complained) were published at Antwerp in or about the year 1539, with the answer of Cochlæus to the objections of Sturmius. They are likewise prefixed to the History of the Council of Trent, by Crabre, and were afterwards published at Paris in 1612.

CHAP. VII. fluence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure, to comply with their demands; but, when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did he appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardor, and independence, animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

The result of these conferences.

V. As this method of terminating the religious debates between the friends of liberty and the votaries of Rome, proved ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were disavowed by the dictates of reason and the precepts of the Gospel. These measures were, the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th day of November, a severe decree was issued, by the express order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and, in this decree, every thing was manifestly calculated to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble (in about six months after the separation of the diet) a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled, beyond measure, in this partial decree; new degrees of severity and force were added to the edict of Worms; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches, were severely censured; and a solemn order was addressed to the princes, states, and cities, that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to Rome.

CENT. XVI. pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church [g].

VI. No sooner were the elector of Saxony and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In 1530, and the following year, they met, first at Smalcald, afterwards at Frankfort, and formed a solemn alliance, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of Augsburg, without attempting, however, any thing positively offensive against the votaries of Rome. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of England, France, and Denmark, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance [h]. Amidst these intrigues and preparations,

The league of Smalcald.

[g] To give the greater degree of weight to this edict, it was resolved, that no judge who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of Spire, which was the supreme court in Germany. The emperor also, and the popish princes, engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and to promote its execution.

[h] Luther, who at first seemed averse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, at length perceived its necessity, and consented to it; but, uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused to comprehend in it the followers of Zuingle among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer. And yet we find that the cities of Ulm and Augsburg had embraced the Reformation on the principles of Zuingle. In the invitation addressed to Henry VIII., whom the associated princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following points were expressly stipulated among several others: viz. That the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, as it was contained in the confession of Augsburg, and defend the same at the next general council;—that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of Rome, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees, nor suffer them to

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who had hitherto disapproved the violent measures which were incessantly suggested by the court of Rome, departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and, listening to the sanguinary counsels of Paul, formed, in conjunction with that artful pontiff, the design of terminating religious debates by the force of arms. The landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, the chief protectors of the protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took the proper measures to prevent themselves from being surprised and overwhelmed by a superior force, and, accordingly, raised an army for their defence. While this terrible storm was rising, Luther, whose aversion to all violence in matters of religion was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by Providence from this scene of tumult, and from the calamities that threatened his country. He died in peace, on the 18th of February, 1546, at Eisleben, the place of his birth.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of the Reformation, from the Commencement of the War of Smalcald, to the famous Pacification, commonly called the Peace of Religion, concluded at Augsburg.

The commencement of the war of Smalcald.

I. CHARLES and the pontiff had determined upon the ruin of all who should dare to oppose the council of Trent. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking arms; and accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun, in 1546, when the protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union of their chief adversaries to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, it is true, a new conference in this very year, at the diet of

Ratisbon, between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences; but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner in which it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would sooner or later be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers, assembled in the council of Trent, promulgated their decrees; while the protestant princes in the diet protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this conduct, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience. CENT. XVI.

The affairs of the protestants take an unfavorable turn.

II. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse led their forces into Bavaria against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp at Ingolstadt with great spirit. It was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action; but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by most of the confederates, and, probably, would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these we may reckon, principally, the perfidy of Maurice, duke of Saxony, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor, and by his own ambition and avarice, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle John Frederic, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor among the confederate princes, the failure of France in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch, and some incidents of less moment. All these things so discouraged the heads of the protestant party, that their troops were soon dispersed, and the elector of Saxony directed his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches, with a view of subduing his enemy, before he should have time to recover his vigor; in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and, as there is too much reason to think, by the treachery of his officers. The two

CENT. XVI. armies drew up in order of battle near Muhlberg on the Elbe, on the 24th of April, 1547, and, after a fierce conflict, that of the elector, being inferior in number, was entirely defeated, and himself made prisoner. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the other chief of the protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law, Maurice, now declared elector of Saxony [x], to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of Charles for obtaining forgiveness, and being restored to liberty; but, notwithstanding these expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said, that the emperor retracted his promise, and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words, which resemble each other [y]; but this point of history has not been hitherto so far cleared up, as to enable us to judge with certainty of the confinement of this prince, and the real causes to which it may be ascribed [z].

The famous temporary edict, called the Interim.

III. This revolution seemed to threaten ruin to the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the

☞ [x] In the room of John Frederic, whom he had so basely betrayed.

☞ [y] There is scarcely in history an instance of such mean, perfidious, and despotic behaviour as that of the emperor to the landgrave in the case now before us. After having received in public the humble submissions of that unhappy prince, made upon his knees, in the most respectful and affecting terms, and after having set him at liberty by a solemn treaty, he ordered him to be again arrested, without alleging any reason, or even any pretext, and kept him for several years in a close and severe confinement. When Maurice remonstrated to the emperor against this new imprisonment, Charles answered, that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be imprisoned anew, but only that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonment; and, to support this assertion, he produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in *ewiger gefangnis*, which signifies a *perpetual prison*, instead of *einiger gefangnis*, which means *any prison*. This point, however, is contested by some historians.

[z] See a German work entitled, Benj. Grosch Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirche gegen Gottfr. Arnold.

pontiff with the most triumphant success. In the diet of Augsburg, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and despatch, the emperor required of the protestants, that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at Trent. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal; and, among others, Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, and who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law the landgrave of Hesse. This general submission to the will of Charles, did not, however, produce the fruits that were expected from such a solemn, and almost universal approbation of the council of Trent. A plague, which manifested itself (or was said to do so) in that city, induced the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to Bologna, and thereby the council was, in effect, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties and remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to reassemble it without delay. While affairs were in this situation, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled was obscured, the emperor judged it necessary, during this *interval*, to devise some method of maintaining peace in religious matters, until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view that he ordered Julius Pflugius, bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, a creature of the pontiff, and John Agricola, a native of Eisleben, to draw up a *formulary*, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both parties, until a council should begin to act. As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called the *Interim*[a].

☞ [a] This project of Charles was formed, partly to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other purposes of a more political kind. Be that as it may, the *Formula ad Interim*, or temporary rule of faith and worship here men-

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The troubles to which this edict gave rise.

IV. This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favorable to the interests and pretensions of the court of Rome, had yet the fate to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed; it pleased neither party, but was equally offensive to the followers of Luther and to the Roman pontiff. It was, however, promulgated with solemnity, by the emperor, at the diet of Augsburg; and the elector of Mentz, without even deigning to ask the opinions of the assembled princes and states, rose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous *Interim*. Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interpreted as the mark of a tacit consent, engaged

tioned, contained all the essential doctrines of the church of Rome, though considerably softened and mitigated by the moderate, prudent, and artful terms in which they were expressed; terms quite different from those that were employed, before and after this period, by the council of Trent. There was even an affected ambiguity in many expressions, which rendered them susceptible of different senses, applicable to the sentiments of both communions, and therefore disagreeable to both. The *Interim* was composed with that fraudulent, specious, and seducing dexterity, which in after-times appeared in the deceitful exposition of the Catholic faith, by M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux; and it was almost equally rejected by the Protestants and Roman Catholics. The cup was allowed, by this imperial creed, to the protestants in the administration of the Lord's supper, and priests and clerks were permitted by it to enter into the married state. These grants were, however, accompanied with the two following conditions: "1. That every one should be at liberty to use the cup, or to abstain from it, and to choose a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as he should judge most fit or convenient: 2. That these grants should remain in force no longer than the happy period when a general council should terminate all religious differences." This second condition tended to produce the greatest disorder and confusion, in case the future council should think proper to enjoin celibacy on the clergy, and declare, as it did in effect, their marriage unchristian and unlawful.

[a] See Jo. Erdm. Bieck, Triplex Interim.—Luc. Osianders Cent. XVI. Histor. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. lxviii. p. 425.—For an account of the authors and editions of the book called *Interim*, see Die Danische Biblioth. part v. and vi.

against their will to receive this *book* as a body of ecclesiastical law. The major part of those, who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this imperial creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms; and hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities. Maurice, elector of Saxony, who, for some time, had affected to be neutral, and neither declared himself for those who rejected, nor for those who had adopted the formulary, assembled, in 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with Melanchthon at the head of the latter, and, in several conferences at Leipsic and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be done in this critical affair. The deliberations, on this occasion, were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous; for Melanchthon, whose opinion was respected as a law by the reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of conciliatory sentence, which, he hoped, would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book called *Interim* could not, by any means, be adopted by the friends of the Reformation; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason, why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, in things that did not relate to the essential parts of religion, or in points which might be considered as accessory or *indifferent*[b]. This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced, on the contrary, new divisions, and formed, among the followers of Luther, a schism which placed the cause of the Reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed either to ruin it entirely, or to

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[b] By things *indifferent*, Melanchthon understood particularly the ceremonies of the popish worship, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion.

CENT. XVI. retard considerably its progress, had the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of these divisions, and to seise the favorable occasion that was presented to them, of turning the force of the protestants against themselves.

The project of a council at Trent renewed.

V. Amidst these contests Paul III. was obliged to quit this life in the year 1549, and was succeeded, in the following year, by Julius III., who, yielding to the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to convoke a council at Trent. Accordingly, in the diet of Augsburg, which was again holden under the formidable artillery of an imperial army, Charles laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The majority of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also the elector Maurice submitted upon certain conditions [c]. The emperor then concluded the diet in 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that he would use his most zealous endeavours to promote moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly. When the diet broke up, the protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of Melanchthon, and the Wirtembergers that of Brentius, to draw up confessions of their faith, which

☞ [c] Maurice (who was desirous of regaining the esteem of the protestants of Saxony, which he had lost by his perfidious behaviour to the late elector John Frederic, his benefactor and friend) gave his consent to the renewal of the council of Trent on the following conditions:—1st, That the points of doctrine, which had been already decided there, should be examined and discussed anew; 2dly, That this examination should be made in presence of the protestant divines, or their deputies; 3dly, That the Saxon protestants should have a liberty of *voting*, as well as of *deliberating*, in the council; and, 4thly, That the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person or by his legates. This declaration was read in the diet, and the elector's deputies insisted upon its being registered, which the archbishop of Mentz, however, obstinately refused.

were to be laid before the new council. Beside the ambassadors of the duke of Wirtemberg, several doctors of that city repaired to Trent. The Saxon divines, with Melanchthon at their head, set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no farther than Nuremberg. They had received secret orders to stop there; for Maurice had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views: on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He therefore yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality. CENT. XVI.

VI. The real views of Charles, amidst the divisions and troubles of Germany (which he fomented by negotiations that carried the outward aspect of a reconciling spirit), will appear evidently to such as consider attentively the nature of the times, and compare the transactions of this prince, one with another. Relying on the extent of his power, and the success that frequently accompanied his enterprises, with a degree of confidence that was highly imprudent, he proposed to turn these religious commotions and dissensions to the confirmation and increase of his dominion in Germany, and, by sowing the seeds of discord among the princes of the empire, to weaken their power, and thereby the more easily to encroach upon their rights and privileges. On the other hand, ardently desirous of reducing within narrower limits the jurisdiction and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, that they might not set bounds to his ambition, or prevent the execution of his aspiring views, he flattered himself that this would be the natural effect of the approaching council. He was confirmed in this pleasing hope, by reflecting on what had happened in the assemblies of Constance and of Basil, in which the lust of papal ambition had been opposed with spirit, and restrained within certain limits. He also persuaded himself, that, by the dexterity of his agents, and the number of the Maurice disconcerts the schemes of the emperor.

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Spanish and German bishops devoted to his interests, he should be able to influence and direct the deliberations of the council in such a manner, as to make its decisions answer his expectations, and contribute effectually to the accomplishment of his views. Such were the specious dreams of ambition that filled the imagination of this restless prince; but his views and projects were disconcerted by that very individual, that supposed friend, who had been one of the principal instruments of the violence and oppression which he had exercised against the protestant princes, and of the injury he had done to the protestant cause.

A war kindled between the emperor and Maurice of Saxony.

VII. The most considerable princes, not only of Germany, but even of all Europe, had, for a long time, addressed to the emperor their united entreaties for the deliverance of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and John Frederic, elector of Saxony, from their confinement; and Maurice had solicited, with peculiar warmth and assiduity, the liberty of the former, who was his father-in-law. But all these solicitations produced no effect. Perceiving at length that he was duped by the emperor, and also convinced that this ambitious monarch was forming insidious designs upon the liberties of Germany, and the jurisdiction of its princes, the elector entered, with the utmost secrecy and expedition, into an alliance with the king of France and several of the German princes, for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the empire. Encouraged by this respectable confederacy, the active Saxon led a powerful army against the emperor in 1552, with such astonishing valor and rapidity, that he surprised Charles at Inspruck, where he lay with a small force in the utmost security, and without the least apprehension of danger. This unforeseen event alarmed and dejected the emperor to such a degree, that he was willing to make peace on almost any conditions; and, consequently, he not only concluded, at Passau, the famous treaty of pacification with the

protestants[d], but also promised to assemble, within the space of six months, a diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions that had been occasioned by a diversity of sentiment in religious matters should be entirely removed. Thus did the same prince, who stands foremost in the list of those that oppressed the protestants, and reduced their affairs to extremities, restore their expiring hopes, support and render triumphant their desperate cause, and procure for them that bulwark of peace and of liberty which still remains. Maurice, however, did not live to see this happy issue of his glorious expedition; for he lost his life in the following year, by a wound received at the battle of Siverhausen, while he was fighting against Albert of Brandenburg[e]. CENT. XVI.

VIII. The troubles of Germany, with several other incidents, rendered it impossible to assemble the diet, which the emperor had promised at the pacification The diet of Augsburg, and the peace of religion.

[d] As this treaty is deemed by the German protestants the basis of their religious liberty, it will not be amiss to insert here some of its principal articles. By the three first articles it was stipulated, that Maurice and the confederates should lay down their arms, and should lend their troops to Ferdinand to defend Germany against the Turks, and that the landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty. By the fourth it was agreed that the rule of faith, called *Interim*, should be considered as null and void; that the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, until a diet should be assembled to determine amicably the present disputes (which diet was to meet in the space of six months); and that this religious liberty should continue always, if it should be found impossible to come to an uniformity in doctrine and worship. It was also resolved, that all those who had suffered banishment, or any other calamity, on account of their having been concerned in the league or war of Smalcald, should be reinstated in their privileges, possessions, and employments; that the Imperial chamber at Spire should be open to the protestants as well as to the catholics; and that there should be always a certain number of the Lutheran persuasion in that high court.

[e] Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, after the pacification of Passau, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman catholics; and afterwards committed such ravages in the empire, that a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which Maurice was placed.

CENT. XVI. of Passau, so soon as the period mentioned in the articles of that treaty. This famous diet met, however, at Augsburg, in 1555, was opened by Ferdinand in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord, that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that *religious peace* (as it is commonly called) which secured to the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations; for, after various debates, the following memorable acts were passed, on the 25th of September; that the protestants who followed the confession of Augsburg, should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves, relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest, and the most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of opinions and belief, should be declared and proceeded against as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace[f]. The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the warm debates, the violent animosities, and bloody wars, that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the Gospel, shew us, in a shocking and glaring point of light, the ignorance and superstition

[f] Jo. Schilteri Liber de Pace Religiosâ.—Christ. Lehmanni Acta Publica et Originalia de Pace Religiosâ.

of these miserable times, and stand upon record, as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of religious reform.

The Reformation gains ground in England.

IX. During these transactions in Germany, the friends of genuine Christianity in England deplored the gloomy reign of superstition, and the almost total extinction of true religion; and, seeing before their eyes the cause of popery maintained by the terrors of bloody persecution, and daily victims brought to the stake, to expiate the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of the Gospel to the despotic laws of Rome, they deemed the Germans happy, in having thrown off the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church. Henry VIII., whose personal vices, and whose arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly retarded the progress of the Reformation, was now no more. He died in 1547, and was succeeded by his only son, Edward VI. This amiable prince, whose early youth was crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honor to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigor to the protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious men of foreign countries to settle in England, and addressed a particular invitation to Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, whose moderation added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labors of these eminent men, in concert with those of the friends of the reformation in England, he might purge his dominions from the vile fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible, and suited to their loss. His sister Mary (the daughter of Catharine of Arragon, from whom Henry had been separated by the famous divorce), a furious bigot to the church of Rome, and a prin-

CENT. XVI. cess whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the English throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws and the tyrannical yoke of Rome upon her reluctant subjects. Nor were the methods she employed, in the cause of superstition, better than the cause itself, or tempered by any sentiments of equity or compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will, or made the least stand against the restoration of popery. And, among many other victims, the learned and pious Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been one of the most illustrious instruments of the Reformation in England, fell a sacrifice to her fury *. This odious scene of persecution was happily concluded in 1558 by the death of the queen, who left no issue; and, as soon as her successor, the lady Elizabeth, ascended the throne, all things assumed a new and a pleasing aspect. This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, counsels, and projects, breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly spirit in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring liberty, broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority and superstition, and, delivering her people from the bondage of Rome, established that form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical government which England still enjoys. This religious establishment differs, in some respects, from the plan formed by those whom Edward VI. had employed for promoting the cause of the reformation, and approaches nearer to the rites and discipline of former times, though it is widely different from, and in the most important points entirely opposite to, the principles of the Roman hierarchy.

* This prelate was the less entitled to compassion, as, when in power, he followed the execrable example of the Romanists, by committing to the flames, against the will of the young king, two supposed heretics, two unfortunate foreigners, whom, one would think, every humane Briton would have spared, and whose destruction nothing could justify. EDIT.

X. The seeds of the reformation were very early sown in Scotland, by several noblemen of that nation, who had resided in Germany during the religious disputes that divided the empire. But the power of the Roman pontiff, supported and seconded by inhuman laws and barbarous executions, choked, for many years, these tender seeds, and prevented their taking root. The first and most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction was John Knox [g], a disciple of Calvin, whose eloquence was persuasive, and whose fortitude was invincible [h]. This resolute reformer set out from Geneva for Scotland, in 1559, and, in a

CENT. XVI. In Scotland.

[g] It will not be improper to insert here the character of this famous Scotish reformer, as it is drawn by the spirited, accurate, and impartial pen of Dr. Robertson, in his History of Scotland, book vi. "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness (says "that incomparable writer) were virtues which he possessed in "an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning "cultivated in that age, and excelled in that species of eloquence "which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, how-"ever, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper "excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he shewed no in-"dulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the dis-"tinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with "an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to re-"claim; and this often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful "expressions with respect to the queen's person and conduct. "Those very qualities, however, which now render his character "less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for "advancing the reformation among a fierce people, and enabled "him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which "a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink "back. By an unwearied application to study and to business, "as well as by the frequency and fervor of his public discourses, "he had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a "lingering illness, he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met "the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from "his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devo-"tion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immor-"tality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, "but fill them with exultation in their last moments."

[h] The earl of Morton, who was present at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honorable for Knox, as they came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity: "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

CENT. XVI. very short time, inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of Rome, that the greatest part of the Scotish nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery [i]. From this period to the present times, the doctrine, worship, and discipline that had been established at Geneva by the ministry of Calvin, have been maintained in Scotland with invincible obstinacy and zeal; and every attempt to introduce into that kingdom the rites and government of the church of England, has proved impotent and unsuccessful [k].

[i] See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i.—Calderwood's History of Scotland's Reformation.—Georg. Buchanani Rerum Scoticar. Hist.—Melvil's Memoirs, vol. i.

☞ [k] The indignation of the people, which had been excited by the *vices* of the clergy, was soon transferred to their *persons*, and settled at last, by a transition not unusual, upon the offices they enjoyed; and thus the effects of the reformation extended, not only to the doctrine, but also to the government of the popish church. But in Germany, England, and the northern kingdoms, its operations were checked by the power and policy of their princes, and episcopal hierarchy (which appears to be the most conformable to the practice of the church, since Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire) was still continued in these countries, under certain limitations. The ecclesiastical government was in a great measure borrowed from the civil; and the dioceses and jurisdiction of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, corresponded with the division and constitution of the empire. In Switzerland and the Low Countries, the nature and spirit of a republican policy gave fuller scope to the reformers; and thus all pre-eminence of order in the church was destroyed, and that form of ecclesiastical government established, which has been since called Presbyterian. The situation of the primitive church (oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged by its sufferings to be contented with a form of government extremely simple, and with a parity of rank for want of ambition to propose, or power to support, a subordination) suggested, without doubt, the idea of this latter system; though it would be unfair to allege this consideration as a victorious argument in favor of Presbyterianism, because a change of circumstances will sometimes justify a change in the methods and plans of government. Be that as it may, the church of Geneva, which received the decisions of Calvin with an amazing docility, restored this presbyterian or

XI. The cause of the reformation underwent, in Ireland, the same vicissitudes and revolutions that had attended it in England. When Henry VIII., after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared 'supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England,' George Brown, a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost vigor in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and by the influence as well as authority which he possessed in Ireland, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowleged by that nation[1]. Henry shewed soon

republican form of ecclesiastical policy; Knox studied, admired, and recommended it to his countrymen, and he was seconded by many of the Scotish nobles, of whom some hated the persons, while others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy. But, in introducing this system, that reformer did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form; for, instead of bishops, he proposed the establishment of ten superintendants, to inspect the lives and doctrines of the other clergy, and preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, without pretending to claim either a seat in parliament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops. This proposal was drawn up, and presented to a convention of estates in 1561; and what it contained, in relation to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly, had not a design to recover the patrimony of the church, in order to apply it to the advancement of religion and learning, been insinuated in it. After this, at certain periods, the name of bishop was revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction, or revenues that were formerly appropriated to that order. They were made subject to the general assemblies of the clergy, and their power was gradually diminished until their name and order were abolished at the revolution in 1688, when presbyterianism was established in Scotland by the laws of the state. See Robertson's History of Scotland.

☞ [1] The learned and pious primate Usher, in his Memoirs of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Ireland, speaks of archbishop Brown in the following manner: "George Brown was a man of a cheerful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain down-right; to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when

CENT. XVI. after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and secularised or suppressed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labors of archbishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of affairs in Ireland [m], as it had done in England.

he was provincial of the Augustine order in England, to make their application solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of Henry VIII. he became a favorite, and was made archbishop of Dublin. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the reformation of the church of England." See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the Harleian Miscellany, entitled Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland.

☞ [m] Here Dr. Mosheim has fallen into a mistake, by not distinguishing between the designs of the queen, which were indeed cruel, and their execution, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has been copied from the papers of Richard, earl of Cork, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, is as follows:

"Queen Mary, having dealt severely with the protestants in "England, about the latter end of her reign signed a commis- "sion to take the same course with them in Ireland; and, to "execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. Cole "one of the commissioners. This doctor coming with the "commission to Chester on his journey, the mayor of that city, "hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, "and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who, in dis- "course with the mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag a leather "box, saying unto him, "Here is a commission that shall lash "the *heretics* of Ireland" (calling the protestants by that title). "The good woman of the house, being well affected to the pro- "testant religion, and also having a brother named John "Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much "troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient "time, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor compli-

Mary pursued with fire and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived Brown and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of Elizabeth gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England [n].

The reformation takes place in the United Provinces.

XII. The reformation had not been long established in Britain, when seven of the Netherland provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, renounced their spiritual allegiance to the Roman

"mented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the "commission out, and places in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, "with a pack of cards wrapped up therein, the knave of clubs "being placed uppermost. The doctor coming up to his cham- "ber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the "box as formerly. The next day, going to the water-side, wind "and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed "on the 7th of October, 1558, at Dublin. Then coming to the "castle, the lord Fitz-Walter, being lord-deputy, sent for him "to come before him and the privy council; who, coming in, "after he had made a speech relating upon what account he "came over, presents the box unto the lord-deputy, who causing "it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, "there was nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of "clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord-deputy and "council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a com- "mission, but knew not how it was gone. Then the lord deputy "made answer, 'Let us have another commission, and we will "shuffle the cards in the mean while.' The doctor, being "troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into England; "and coming to the court obtained another commission; but "staying for a wind on the water-side, news came to him that "the queen was dead; and thus God preserved the protestants "of Ireland."

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by lord Fitz-Walter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, or History of Ireland, vol. ii.—Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

[n] See the Life of Dr. George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, published at London in 1681, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany.

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☞ [o] Dr. Mosheim seems here to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more temperate and decent than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more tumultuous and irregular than the behaviour of the latter. While the multitude destroyed churches, pulled down monasteries, broke the images used in public worship, abused the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand enormities, the effects of furious resentment and brutish rage, the nobility and opulent citizens kept within the bounds of moderation and prudence. Though justly exasperated against a despotic and cruel government, they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Many of them even united their counsels and forces with those of the governess (the duchess of Parma), to restrain

quell these tumults, a powerful army was sent from Spain, under the command of the duke of Alva, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derived its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the succours of England and France, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke; and no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in Switzerland, was established in the United Provinces [p]; and, at the same time, an universal toleration was granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of Rome, or embraced the reformation in another form [q], provided that they made no attempts against the

the seditious and turbulent spirit of the people. The prince of Orange and count Egmont (whose memories will live for ever in the grateful remembrance of the Dutch nation, and be dear to all the lovers of heroic patriotism and sacred liberty throughout the world) signalised their moderation upon this occasion, and were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their opposition to the government proceeded from the dictates of humanity and justice, and not from a spirit of licentiousness and rebellion; and their merit and respectability had secured to them such influence and authority among the people, that, had the imperious court of Spain condescended to make any reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have been restored, and the affections of the people entirely regained. See Le Clerc, Histoire des Prov. Un.

[p] In the year 1573.

☞ [q] It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman catholics, and that which the Anabaptists, Lutherans, and other protestant sects, enjoyed. They were all indiscriminately excluded from the civil employments of the state; but, though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom the churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance to the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.

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authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public [r].

The progress of the reformation in Spain and Italy.

XIII. The reformation made a considerable progress in Spain and Italy, soon after the rupture between Luther and the Roman pontiff. In all the provinces of Italy, but more especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the religion of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of persons, of all ranks and orders, expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of Naples in 1536, of which the principal authors were Bernardo Ochino and Peter Martyr, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of Charles V. and his viceroy don Pedro de Toledo [s]. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the reformation, by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody inquisitors, who spread the marks of their usual barbarity through the greatest part of Italy. These formidable ministers of superstition put such a number of supposed heretics to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of Rome, at least in external appearance. But the terrors of the inquisition, which frightened back into the profession of popery many protestants in other parts of Italy, could not penetrate into the kingdom of Naples; nor could either the authority or entreaties of the Roman pontiffs engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either

[r] See a farther account of this affair in Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Netherlands.

[s] See Giannone, Historia di Napoli, tom. iv.—Vita Galeacii in Museo Helvetico, tom. ii.

a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors [t]. CENT. XVI.

The eyes of many persons in Spain were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which the controversies between Luther and Rome had excited in Europe, but even by the efforts of those divines whom Charles V. had brought with him into Germany, to combat the pretended heresy of the reformers; for these Spanish doctors imbibed

[t] It was an attempt to introduce a Roman inquisitor into the city of Naples, that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. Mosheim attributes in this section to the pulpit discourses of Ochino and Martyr; for these famous preachers, particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and secretly converted many, without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at Naples, declared that "he preached with such spirit and devotion as might almost make the very stones weep." After Ochino's departure from Naples, the disciples he had formed gave private instructions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy Toledo, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of Melanchthon and Erasmus to be publicly burned, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies, which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of learning; and, having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired pope Paul III. to send from Rome to Naples a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigor and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Several other attempts were afterwards made, during the reigns of Philip II, III, IV., and Charles II. to establish the inquisition in Naples; but, by the jealousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At length the emperor Charles VI., early in the eighteenth century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating to the holy faith, from being tried by any persons except the archbishop and bishops as ordinaries. See Giannone, lib. xxxii. and the Modern Univ. History.

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this heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less, on their return home, as evidently appears from several circumstances [u]. But the inquisition, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of Naples, reigned triumphant in Spain; and by racks, gibbets, stakes, and other formidable instruments of its method of persuading, soon terrified the people back into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion [w].

What judgement we are to form concerning the reformation, and the means by which it was produced.

XIV. I shall not enter into a contest with those writers, whatever their secret intentions may be, who observe, that many unjustifiable proceedings may be imputed to some of the most eminent promoters of this great change in the state of religion. For every impartial and attentive observer of the rise and progress of this reformation will ingenuously acknowlege, that wisdom and prudence did not always attend the transactions of those who were concerned in the glorious cause; that many things were done with violence, temerity, and precipitation; and, what is still worse, that several of the principal agents in

☞ [u] This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics who had attended Charles, and followed him into his retirement. No sooner was that monarch dead, than they were seised by order of the court of inquisition, and were afterwards committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such was the fate of Augustin Casal, the emperor's preacher; of Constantine Pontius, his confessor; of the learned Egidius, whom he had nominated to the bishopric of Tortosa; of Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and queen Mary, with above twenty more of less note. All this gave reason to presume that Charles died a protestant. Certain it is, that he knew well the corruptions and frauds of the church of Rome, and the grounds and reasons of the protestant faith, though business, ambition, interest, and the prejudices of education, may have blinded him for a while, until leisure, retirement, the absence of worldly temptations, and the approach of death, removed the veil, and led him to wise and serious reflections. See Burnet's History of the Reformation.

[w] See Geddes' Spanish Protestant Martyrology, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. i.

this great revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passion and views of interest, than by a zeal for the advancement of true religion. But, on the other hand, the wise and candid observer of human affairs will own, as a most evident and incontestable truth, that many things which, when stripped of the circumstances and motives that attended them, appear to us, at this time, as real crimes, will be deprived of their enormity, and even acquire the aspect of noble deeds, if they be considered in one point of view with the times and places in which they were transacted, and with the frauds and crimes of the Roman pontiffs and their creatures, by which they were occasioned. But, after all, in defending the cause of the reformation, we are under no obligation to defend, in every respect, the moral characters of its promoters and instruments. These two objects are entirely distinct. The most just and excellent cause may be promoted with low views, and from sinister motives, without losing its nature, or ceasing to be just and excellent. CENT. XVI.

The true state of the question is, whether the opposition of Luther and other reformers to the Roman pontiff arose from just and solid reasons; and this question is entirely independent of the virtues or vices of particular persons *. Let many of these individuals be supposed as odious as, or still more detestable than, they are represented by their adversaries, provided that the cause which they supported be allowed to have been just and good.

* The *translator* has here added some paragraphs, to render more perspicuous the important observation of the learned author; and the *continuator* takes the opportunity of remarking, as an excuse for the intemperance and vehemence of Luther, that the mildness of a Melanchthon, and the timidity of an Erasmus, would never have produced the desired reformation.

SECTION II.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

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The borders of the church enlarged.

I. THE Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may give credit to their historians, exerted themselves, with the greatest vigor and success, in the propagation of the Gospel among the darkened nations[a]; and it must, indeed, be allowed, that they communicated some notions, such as they were, of the Christian religion to the inhabitants of America, to those parts of Africa where they carried their arms, and to the islands and maritime provinces of Asia, which they reduced under their dominion. It is also true, that considerable numbers of these savage people, who had hitherto lived, either under the bondage of the most extravagant superstitions, or in a total ignorance of any object of religious worship, embraced, at least in outward appearance, the doctrines of the Gospel. But when we reflect on the methods of conversion which were employed by the Spanish missionaries among these wretched nations, on the barbarous laws and inhuman tortures that were used to force them into the profession of Christianity; when it is considered, farther, that the denomination of a Christian was conferred upon every poor wretch who discovered a blind and excessive veneration for his stupid instructors, and who could by certain gestures, and the repetition of a little jargon, perform a few superstitious rites and ceremonies; then, instead of rejoicing at, we shall be

[a] See Lafitau's Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde, tom. iii. p. 420. All the relations given by this eloquent writer (who was afterwards created bishop of Sisteron) are taken from the Portuguese historians.—The other writers who have thrown light upon this part of ecclesiastical history, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his Lux Salutar. Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens.

tempted to lament, such a propagation of the Gospel, and to behold the labors of such miserable apostles with indignation and contempt. Such is the judgement passed upon these missionaries, not only by those whom the church of Rome placed in the list of heretics, but also by many of the most pious and eminent of her own doctors, in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The zeal of the Roman pontiffs in the propagation of Christianity.

II. When the pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the Reformation, which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in Europe, they turned their lordly views toward the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous than ever about the propagation of the Gospel among the nations that were yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in Europe, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the title of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society, which, in 1540, took the denomination of *Jesuits*, or the *Company of Jesus*, seemed every way proper to assist the court of Rome in the execution of this extensive design. And accordingly, from their rise, this peculiar charge was given to them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the pope, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should fix for the exercise of their ministry [b]. The many histories and relations

[b] When the fanatic Ignatius first solicited the confirmation of his order by pope Paul III., the learned and worthy cardinal Guidiccioni opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of Ignatius, who, changing the articles of his institution, in which he had promised obedience to the pope with certain restrictions, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn vow of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience to the Roman pontiff. This change produced the desired effect, and

CENT. XVI. which mention the labors, perils, and exploits of that prodigious multitude of Jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly shew, with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the successive pontiffs [c]. And their labors would have undoubtedly crowned them with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident, from the most authentic records, that the greatest part of these new apostles had more in view the promotion of the ambitious views of Rome, and the advancement of the interests of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honor of its divine author [d]. It may also be affirmed, from records of the highest credit and authority, that the inquisition erected by the Jesuits at Goa, and the penal laws, whose terrors they employed so freely in the propagation of the Gospel, contributed much more than their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity [e]. The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had, for a long time, been not only cooled, but almost totally extinguished, was animated anew by the example of the Jesuits; and several other religious orders, that slumbered in their cells, were roused from their lethargy, if not by a principle of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.

made the popes look upon the Jesuits as the chief support of their authority. Hence arose the zeal which Rome has ever shewn for that order. It is remarkable, that Ignatius and his company, in the very same charter in which they declared their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of Rome, promised a like implicit and unlimited allegiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of serving two absolute masters, whose commands might be often contradictory. See Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus, printed at Utrecht in 1741.

[c] See Jo. Alb. Fabricii Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens, cap. xxxii. p. 550.

[d] B. Christ. Eberh. Weismanni Oratio de Virtutibus et Vitiis Mission. Roman. in Orat. ejus Academ.

[e] See the Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. ii.

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The propagation of the Gospel in India, Japan, and China.

III. Of all the Jesuits who distinguished themselves by their zealous and laborious attempts to extend the limits of the church, none acquired a more shining reputation than Francis Xavier, who is commonly called the Apostle of the Indies[f]. An undaunted resolution, and no small degree of genius and sagacity, rendered this famous missionary one of the most proper persons that could be employed in such an arduous task. Accordingly, in 1522, he set sail for the Portuguese settlements in India, and, in a short time, spread the knowlege of the Christian religion, or, to speak more properly, of the Romish system, over a great part of the continent, and in several of the islands of that remote region. Thence, in 1529, he passed into Japan, and laid there, with amazing rapidity, the foundations of the famous church, which flourished during so many years in that vast empire. His indefatigable zeal prompted him to attempt the conversion of the Chinese; and with this view he embarked for that extensive and powerful kingdom, in sight of which he ended his days in 1552[g]. After his death, other members of his insinuating order penetrated into China. Of these missionaries the chief was Matthew Ricci, an Italian, who, by his skill in the mathematics, became so acceptable to the Chinese nobility, and even to their emperor, that he obtained, both for himself and his associates, the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrines of the

[f] The late king of Portugal, in 1747, obtained for Xavier, or rather for his memory, the title of Protector of the Indies, from Benedict XIV. See the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangeres, tom. xliii. The body of this sainted missionary lies interred at Goa, where it is worshiped with the highest marks of devotion. There is also a magnificent church at Cotati dedicated to Xavier, to whom the inhabitants of that Portuguese settlement pay the most devout tribute of veneration and worship.

[g] See the writers enumerated by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii, &c. cap. xxxix. p. 677. Add to these Lafitau's Histoire des Decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde, tom. iii. iv.—Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. i.

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Gospel [h]. He may, therefore, be considered as the parent and founder of the Christian churches, which, though often dispersed, and tossed to and fro by the storms of persecution, still subsist in China [i].

The attempts of the Protestants toward the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts.

IV. The jurisdiction and territories of those princes, who first threw off the papal yoke, being confined within the limits of Europe, the churches that were under their protection could contribute little to the propagation of the Gospel in those distant regions of which we have been speaking. It is, however, recorded in history, that, in 1556, fourteen protestant missionaries were sent from Geneva to convert the Americans [k], though it is not well known who was the promoter of this pious design, or with what success it was carried into execution. The English also, who, toward the conclusion of this century, sent colonies into the northern parts of America, transplanted with them the reformed religion, which they themselves professed; and, as their possessions were extended and multiplied from time to time, their religion also made a considerable progress among that rough and uncivilised people. We learn, moreover, that about this time the Swedes exerted their religious zeal in converting to Christianity many of the inhabitants of Finland and Lapland, of whom a considerable number had hitherto retained the impious and extravagant superstitions of their pagan ancestors.

The enemies of Christianity.

V. It does not appear, from authentic records, that the sword of persecution was drawn against the Gospel, or any public opposition made to the progress of Chris-

[h] J. B. Du-Halde, Description de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. iii.

[i] It appears, however, that before the arrival of Ricci in China, some of the Dominicans had already been there, though to little purpose. See Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. iii.

[k] Picteti Oratio de Trophæis Christi, in Orat. ejus, p. 570. There is no doubt that the divines here mentioned were those whom the illustrious admiral Coligni invited into France, when, in 1555, he had formed the project of sending a colony of Protestants into Brasil and other provinces of America. See Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, tom. i.

tianity during this century; and it would betray a great ignorance, both of the situation, opinions, and maxims of the Turks, to imagine, that the war they waged against the Christians was carried on upon religious principles, or with a view to maintain and promote the doctrines of Mohammed. On the other hand, it is certain, that there lay concealed, in different parts of Europe, not a few persons who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general, and, in a more especial manner, against the religion of the Gospel; and who, both in their writings and in private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and instilled their odious principles into weak, unsteady, and credulous minds. In this pernicious and unhappy class are generally placed some of the Peripatetic philosophers, who adorned Italy by their erudition, and particularly Pomponatius; several French wits and philosophers, such as Bodin, Rabelais, Montagne, Bonaventure des Perieres, Dolet, Charron; some Italians, at whose head appears Leo X., followed by Bembo, Politian, Jordano Bruno, Ochino; and a few Germans, such as Theophrastus Paracelsus, Nicolas Taurellus, and others[1]. It is even reported, that, in certain provinces of France and Italy, schools were erected, whence whole swarms of these impious doctors soon issued to deceive the simple and unwary. This accusation will not be wholly rejected by such as are acquainted with the spirit and genius of these times; nor can it be said with truth, that all the persons charged with this heavy reproach were entirely guiltless. It is nevertheless certain, on the other hand, that, upon an accurate and impartial examination of this matter, the accusation brought against many of them will appear to be entirely groundless; and that, with respect to several who may deserve censure in a certain degree, their errors are less

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[1] See Reimanni Historia Atheismi et Atheorum.—Jo. Franc. Buddeus, Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione.—Dictionaire de Bayle.

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pernicious and criminal, than they are uncharitably or rashly represented to be.

The public advantages that arose from the restoration of letters.

VI. It is, at the same time, evident, that, in this century, the arts and sciences were carried to a degree of perfection unknown to preceding ages; and, from this happy renovation of learning, the European churches derived the most signal and inestimable advantages, which they also transmitted to the most remote nations. The benign influence of true science, and its tendency to improve both the form of religion and the institutions of civil policy, were perceived by many of the states and princes of Europe: hence large sums were expended, and great zeal and industry employed, in promoting the progress of knowlege, by founding and encouraging literary societies, by protecting and exciting a spirit of emulation among men of genius, and by annexing distinguished honors and advantages to the culture of the sciences. And it is particularly worthy of observation, that this was the period, when the wise and salutary law, which excludes ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred functions of the ministry, acquired, at length, that force which it still retains in the greatest part of the Christian world. There still remained, however, some seeds of that ancient discord between religion and philosophy, which had been sown and fomented by ignorance and fanaticism; and there were found, both among the friends and enemies of the reformation, several well-meaning, but inconsiderate men, who, in spite of common sense, maintained, with more vehemence and animosity than ever, that vital religion and piety could never flourish without being totally separated from learning and science, and nourished by the holy simplicity that reigned in the primitive ages of the church.

The flourishing state of philology.

VII. The first rank in the literary world was now enjoyed by those who consecrated their studious hours, and their critical sagacity, to the publication, correction, and illustration, of the most famous Greek and Latin authors of ancient times, to the

study of antiquity and the languages, and to the culture of eloquence and poetry. We see by the productions of this age (which yet remain, and continue to excite the admiration of the learned), that in all the provinces of Europe these branches of literature were cultivated with a kind of enthusiasm, by such as were most distinguished by their taste and genius; and, what is still more extraordinary (and perhaps not a little extravagant), the welfare of the church, and the prosperity of the state, were supposed to depend upon the improvement of these branches of erudition, which were considered as the very essence of true and solid knowlege. If such encomiums were swelled beyond the bounds of truth and wisdom by enthusiastical philologists, it is nevertheless certain, that the species of learning here under consideration, was of the highest importance, as it opened the way that led to the treasures of solid wisdom, to the improvement of genius, and thus undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to deliver both reason and religion from the prepossessions of ignorance and the servitude of superstition [m]. And, therefore, we ought not to be surprised, when we meet with persons who exaggerate the merit, and dwell beyond measure on the praises of those who were our first guides from

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☞ [m] Many vehement debates have been carried on concerning the respective merit of literature and philosophy; but these debates are almost as absurd as a comparison that should be made between the means and the end, the instrument and its effect. Literature is the key by which we often open the treasures of wisdom, both human and divine. But, as the sordid miser absurdly converts the means into an end, and acquires a passion for the shining metal, considered abstractedly from the purposes which it was calculated to serve, so the pedantic philologist erects literature into an independent science, and contemns the divine treasures of philosophy, which it was designed both to discover and to illustrate. Hence arose that wretched tribe of "word-catchers that live on syllables" (as Pope, I think, happily expresses their tasteless pursuits), who made the republic of letters groan under their commentaries, annotations, various readings, &c., and who forgot that an acquaintance with language was intended to lead us to the improvement of the mind and to the knowlege of things.

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The state of philosophy.

VIII. Though the lovers of philology and the *belles lettres* were much superior in number to those who turned their principal views to the study of philosophy, yet the latter were far from being contemptible either in point of number or capacity. The philosophers were divided into two classes: some were wholly absorbed in contemplation, while others were employed in the investigation of truth, and endeavoured by experience, as well as by reasoning, to trace out the laws and operations of nature. The former were subdivided into two sects, one of which followed certain leaders, while the other, unrestrained by the dictates of authority, struck out a new way for themselves, following freely their own inventions. Those who submitted to the direction of philosophical guides, enlisted themselves under the standard of Aristotle, or that of Plato, who continued still to have many admirers, especially in Italy. Nor were the followers of Aristotle agreed among themselves; they all acknowleged the Stagirite as their chief, but they followed him through very different paths. Some were for retaining the ancient method of proceeding in philosophical pursuits, which their doctors falsely called the Peripatetic system. Others pleaded for the pure and unmixed philosophy of Aristotle, and recommended his writings as the source of wisdom, and as the system which was most adapted, when properly illustrated and explained, to the instruction of youth. A third sort of Aristotelians, who differed equally from these now mentioned, and of whom the celebrated Melanchthon was the chief, pursued another method. They extracted the marrow out of the lucubrations of the Grecian sage, illustrated it by the aids of genuine literature and the rules of good criticism, and corrected it by the dictates of right reason and the doctrines and principles of true religion.

Of those who struck out a path to themselves in

the regions of philosophy, without any regard to that which had been opened by ancient sages, and pursued by their followers, Cardan [n], Telesius [o], and Campanella [p], deservedly hold the first rank, as they were CENT. XVI.

☞ [n] Cardan was a man of a bold, irregular, enterprising genius, who, by a wild imagination, was led into the study of astrology and magic, by which he excited the astonishment and attracted the veneration of the multitude, while his real merit as a philosopher was little known. He was accused of atheism, but seems much rather chargeable with superstition. His life and character seem to have formed an amazing mixture of wisdom and folly; and nothing can give a more unfavorable idea of his temper and principles, than the hideous portrait he has drawn of himself in his book De Genituris. His knowlege of physic and of mathematics was considerable, and his notions of natural philosophy may be seen in his famous book De Subtilitate et Veritate Rerum, in which some important truths and discoveries are mixed with the most fanatical visions, and the most extravagant and delirious effusions of mystical folly. See the ample and judicious account that has been given of the character and philosophy of this writer (whose voyage to Britain is well known) by the learned Brucker, in his Historia Critica Philosophiæ, tom. iv.

☞ [o] This philosopher, less known than the former, was born in 1508, at Cosenza, in the kingdom of Naples, and was the restorer of the philosophy formerly taught by Parmenides, upon whose principles he built a new system, or, at least, a system which appeared new, by the elegant connexion which he gave to its various parts, and the arguments used to maintain and support it against the philosophy of Aristotle. It was the vague and uncertain method of reasoning which the Stagirite had introduced into natural philosophy, that engaged Telesius to compose his famous book De Principiis Rerum Naturalium. In this work, after having refuted the visionary principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, he substitutes in their place such as are immediately derived from the testimony of the senses, even heat and cold, from which, like Parmenides, he deduces the nature, origin, qualities and changes of all material beings. To these two principles he adds a third, namely, matter; and on these three he builds with some dexterity his physical system, for a part of which he seems also to have been indebted to a book of Plutarch, De Primo Frigido. It will be entertaining to the philosophical reader, to compare this work of Telesius with lord Bacon's physical account of the story of Cupid and Cœlus, in his book De Principiis et Originibus, &c.

☞ [p] Campanella, a native of Calabria, made a great noise in the seventeenth century, by his innovations in philosophy. Shocked at the atheism and absurdities of the Aristotelian system, he early acquired a contempt of it, and turned his

CENT. XVI. undoubtedly men of superior genius, though too much addicted to the suggestions and visions of an irregular fancy. To these may be added Peter Ramus, that ingenious French philosopher, who, by attempting to substitute, in the place of Aristotle's logic, a method of reasoning more adapted to the use of rhetoric and the improvement of eloquence, excited such a terrible uproar in the Gallic schools. Nor must we omit here the mention of Theophrastus Paracelsus, who, by an assiduous observation of nature, by a great number of experiments indefatigably repeated, and by applying the penetrating force of fire[q] to discover

pursuits toward something more solid, perusing the writings of all the ancient sages, and comparing them with the great volume of nature, to see whether the pretended copies resembled the original. The sufferings that this man endured are almost incredible; but they were said to be inflicted on him in consequence of the treasonable practices which were imputed to him, partly against the court of Spain, and partly against the kingdom of Naples, which (it was supposed) he had formed the design of delivering into the hands of the Turks. He was freed from his prison and tortures by the interposition of pope Urban VIII., who gave him particular marks of his favor and esteem, and, finding that he was not safe at Rome, had him conveyed to Paris, where he was honored with the protection of Louis XIII. and cardinal Richelieu, and ended his days in peace. As to the writings and philosophy of this great man, they are tinged, indeed, with the color of the times, and bear, in many places, the marks of a chimerical and undisciplined imagination; but, among a few visionary notions, they contain a great number of important truths. He undertook an entire reformation of philosophy, but was unequal to the task. For an account of his principles of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, see Brucker's Hist. Critica Philosophiæ, tom. iv. He was accused of atheism, but unjustly; he was also accused of suggesting cruel measures against the protestants, and not without reason.

☞ [q] The principal merit of Paracelsus consisted in inventing, or at least restoring from oblivion and darkness, the important science of chemistry, giving it a regular form, reducing it into a connected system, and applying it most successfully to the art of healing, which was the peculiar profession of this philosopher, whose friends and enemies have drawn him in the falsest colors. His application to the study of magic, of which he treats in the tenth volume of his works, under the denomination of the Sagacious Philosophy, is a circumstance dishonorable to his memory, and nothing can discover a more total absence of common sense and reasoning than his discourses on

the first principles or elements of bodies, endeavoured to throw new light and evidence on the important science of natural philosophy. As the researches of this industrious inquirer into nature excited the admiration of all, his example was consequently followed by many; and hence arose a new sect of philosophers, who assumed the denomination of *Theosophists* [r], and who, placing little confidence in the decisions of human reason, or the efforts of speculation, attributed all to divine illumination and repeated experience.

The method of teaching theology improved,

IX. This revolution in philosophy and literature, together with the spirit of emulation that animated the different sects or classes into which the learned men of this age were divided, produced many happy effects of various kinds. It, in a more particular manner, brought into disrepute, though it could not at once utterly eradicate, that intricate, barbarous, and insipid method of teaching theology, which had hitherto prevailed in all the schools and pulpits of Christendom. The sacred writings, which, in the preceding ages, had been either entirely neglected, or very absurdly explained, were now much more consulted and respected in the debates and writings of the Christian doctors than they had formerly been; the sense and language of the inspired writers were more carefully studied and more accurately developed; the doctrines and precepts of religion taught in a more methodical manner, and with greater connexion and perspicuity; and that dry, barren, and vapid language, which the ancient schoolmen affected so much in their theological compositions, was wholly exploded by the wiser part of the divines of this century. It must not however be imagined, that this reformation of the schools was so perfect, as to

that subject. As to his philosophical system, it is so obscure, and so contradictory, that we shall not pretend to delineate it here.

[r] See, for an ample account of the lives, transactions, and systems of these philosophers, Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiæ.

CENT. XVI. leave no room for improvement in succeeding ages; this, indeed, was far from being the case. Much imperfection yet remained in the method of treating theology; and many things, which had great need of a correcting hand, were left untouched. It would, nevertheless, be either an instance of ingratitude, or a mark of great ignorance, to deny to this age the honor of having begun what was afterwards more happily finished, and of having laid the foundations of that striking superiority, which the divines of succeeding ages obtained over those of ancient times.

and the genius and spirit of the Christian religion better explained.

X. The improvements, which have been now mentioned, as proceeding from the restoration of letters and philosophy, not only extended to the method of conveying theological instruction, but also purified the science of theology itself. For the true nature, genius, and design of the Christian religion, which even the most learned and pious doctors of antiquity had but imperfectly comprehended, were now unfolded with evidence and precision, and drawn, like truth, from an abyss in which they had hitherto lain concealed. It is true, the influence of error was far from being totally suppressed, and many false and absurd doctrines are still maintained and propagated in the Christian world. But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that the Christian societies, whose errors at this day are the most numerous and extravagant, have much less absurd and perverse notions of the nature and design of the Gospel, and the duties and obligations of its votaries, than were entertained by those doctors of antiquity, who ruled the church with an absolute authority, and were considered as the chief oracles of theology. It may farther be observed, that the reformation contributed much to soften and civilise the manners of many nations, who, before that happy period, were sunk in the most savage stupidity, and carried the most rude and insocial aspect. It must indeed be confessed, that a variety of circumstances, not immediately connected with religion, combined to produce that lenity of character, and that milder

temperature of manners, maxims and actions, which gradually appeared in the greatest part of the European nations, after the period that was signalised by the reformative exertions of Luther. It is nevertheless evident, beyond all contradiction, that the disputes concerning religion, and the accurate and rational inquiries into the doctrines and duties of Christianity to which those disputes gave rise, had a great tendency to eradicate from the minds of men the ferocity that had been so long nourished by the barbarous suggestions of unmanly superstition. It is also certain, that at the very dawn of this happy revolution in the state of Christianity, and even before its salutary effects were manifested in all their extent, pure religion had many sincere and fervent votaries, though they were concealed from public view by the multitudes of fanatics with which they were surrounded. CENT. XVI.

SECTION III.

THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

History of the Roman or Latin Church.

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The Roman pontiff,—how elected.

I. THE Roman or Latin church is a system of government, whose jurisdiction extends over a great part of the known world, though its authority has been circumscribed within narrower limits since the happy revolution that, in many countries, delivered Christianity from the yoke of superstition and spiritual tyranny. This system of ecclesiastical policy, extensive as it is, is under the direction of the bishop of Rome alone, who, by virtue of a sort of hereditary succession, claims the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. Peter, the supposed prince of the apostles, and gives himself out for the supreme head of the universal church, the vicegerent of Christ upon earth. This lordly ruler of the church is, at this time, elected to his high office, by the chosen members of the Roman clergy, who bear the ancient denomination of cardinals. Of these, six are bishops, within the precincts of Rome; fifty are ministers of the Roman churches, and are called priests or presbyters; and fourteen are inspectors of the hospitals and charitable foundations, and are called deacons. These cardinals (while the papal chair is vacant, and they are employed in the choice of a successor to the deceased pontiff) are closely confined in a sort of prison, called

the Conclave, that they may thus be induced to bring this difficult matter to a speedy conclusion. No person, except one who is an Italian by descent, and who has already obtained a place in the college of cardinals, is capable of being raised to the supremacy of the church: nor have all the Italian cardinals the privilege of aspiring to this high office [a]. Some are rendered incapable of filling the papal chair by the place of their birth, others by their manner of life, and a few by other reasons [b]. It is also to be observed, that the emperor and the kings of France and Spain have acquired, either expressly by stipulation, or imperceptibly through custom, the privilege of excluding, from the number of the candidates for this high office, such as they dislike or think proper to oppose. Hence it often happens, that, in the numerous college of cardinals, a very small number are permitted, upon a vacancy, to aspire to the papacy; the greatest part being generally prevented by their birth, their cha-

[a] See J. F. Mayer's Comment. de Electione Pontif. Romani, published at Hamburg in 1691. The ceremonies observed in the election and installation are amply described by Meuschen, in a work published at Frankfort in 1732, under the following title, Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani.

[b] The great obstacle that prevents several cardinals from aspiring to the pontificate, is what they call at Rome, *il peccato originale*, or *original sin*. This mark of exclusion belongs to those who are born subjects of some crown or republic which are beyond the bounds of Italy, or are upon a footing of jealousy with the court of Rome. Those also who were made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of France or Spain, or their adherents, are also included in this imputation of original sin, which excludes from the papal chair. The accidental circumstances that exclude certain cardinals from the pontificate, are their being born princes or independent sovereigns, or their declaring themselves openly in favor of certain courts, or their family's being too numerous, or their morals being irregular. Even youth, and a good complexion and figure, are considered as obstacles. But all these maxims and rules vary and change according to the inconstant and precarious impulse of policy and faction.

For an account of the different methods of electing the pope, whether by compromise, inspiration, scrutiny, or access (by which last is meant a second election, employed when the other methods fail), see Aymon's Tableau de la Cour de Rome.

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racters, their circumstances, and by the force of political intrigues, from flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of ascending that towering summit of ecclesiastical power and dominion.

The power of the pope limited.

II. It must not be imagined that the personal power and authority of the Roman pontiff are circumscribed by no limits, since it is well known, that, in all his decisions relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the *brethren*, i. e. the cardinals, who compose his ministry or privy council. In matters of religious controversy and doctrine, he is even obliged to ask the advice and opinion of eminent divines, in order to secure his pretended infallibility from the suggestions of error. Beside this, all affairs, that are not of the highest moment and importance, are divided into classes according to their respective nature, and left to the management of certain colleges, called *Congregations*[c], in every one of which, one or more cardinals

[c] These congregations are as follow: I. The congregation of the pope, instituted first by Sixtus V. to prepare the matters that were to be brought before the consistory, at which the pontiff is always present. Hence this is called the Consistorial Congregation, and in it are treated all affairs relative to the erection of bishoprics and cathedral churches, the re-union or suppression of episcopal fees, the alienation of church goods, and the taxes and annates that are imposed upon all benefices in the pope's gift. The cardinal dean presides in this assembly. II. The congregation of the Inquisition, or (as it is otherwise called) of the Holy Office, instituted by Paul III., which takes cognisance of heresies, apostasy, magic, and profane writings. The office of Grand Inquisitor, which encroached upon the prerogatives of the pontiff, has been long suppressed, or rather distributed among the cardinals who belong to this congregation, and whose decisions come under the supreme cognisance of his holiness. III. The congregation for the propagation of the Roman Catholic Faith, founded under the pontificate of Gregory XV. composed of eighteen cardinals, one of the secretaries of state, a proto-notary, a secretary of the inquisition, and other members of less rank. Here it is that the deliberations are carried on, which relate to the extirpation of heresy, the appointment of missionaries, &c. This congregation has built a most beautiful and magnificent palace in one of the most agreeable situations that could be chosen at Rome, where pros-

preside[d]. The decisions of these societies are generally approved by the pontiff, who has not a right, without CENT. XVI.

elytes to popery from foreign countries are lodged and nourished *gratis*, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition, and instructed in those branches of knowlege to which the bent of their genius points. The prelates, curates, and vicars also, who are obliged, without any fault of theirs, to abandon the places of their residence, are entertained charitably in this noble edifice in a manner proportioned to their station in the church. IV. The congregation designed to explain the decisions of the council of Trent. V. The congregation of the Index, whose principal business is to examine manuscripts and books that are designed for publication, to decide whether the people may be permitted to read them, to correct those books whose errors are not numerous, and which contain useful and salutary truths, to condemn those whose principles are heretical and pernicious, and to grant to certain individuals the peculiar privilege of perusing heretical books. This congregation, which is sometimes held in the presence of the pope, but generally in the palace of the cardinal-president, has a more extensive jurisdiction than that of the inquisition, as it not only takes cognisance of books that contain doctrines contrary to the Roman Catholic faith, but of those also which concern the duties of morality, the discipline of the church, and the interests of society. Its name is derived from the alphabetical tables, or indexes of heretical books and authors, which have been composed by its appointment. VI. The congregation for maintaining the rights and immunities of the clergy, and of the knights of Malta. This congregation was formed by Urban VIII. to decide the disputes, and remove the difficulties and inconveniences that arose from the trials of ecclesiastics, before princes, or other lay-judges. VII. the congregations relating to the bishops and regular clergy, instituted by Sixtus V. to decide the debates which arise between the bishops and their diocesans, and to compose all differences that occur among the monastic orders. VIII. The congregation appointed by Gregory XIV. for examining the capacity and learning of the bishops. IX. Another for inquiring into their lives and morals. X. A third for obliging them to reside in their dioceses, or to dispense them from that obligation. XI. The congregation for suppressing monasteries, i. e. such whose revenues are exhausted, and who thereby become a charge upon the public. XII. The congregation of the Apostolic Visitation, which names the visitors, who perform the duties and visitations of the churches and convents within the district of Rome. XIII. The congregation of relics, authorised to examine the marks, and to augment the number of these instruments of superstition. XIV. The congregation of indulgences, designed to examine the cases of those who have recourse to this method of quieting the conscience. XV. The congregation of rites, which Sixtus V.

CENT. XVI. alleging the most weighty and evident reasons, to reverse what they pronounce to be just and expedient. This form of ecclesiastical government is, doubtless, a check to the authority of the pope; and hence it is, that many things are transacted at Rome in a manner that is in direct opposition to the sentiments of its spiritual ruler. This may serve to shew us, that those persons are little acquainted with the nature and limits of the papal hierarchy, who pretend, that all the iniquitous proceedings of the court of Rome, the calamities it has occasioned, the contentions, rebellions, and tumults it has excited, are entirely imputable to the pontiff himself [e].

appointed to regulate and invent the religious ceremonies that are to be observed in the worship of each new saint that is added to the Kalendar.

These are the congregations of cardinals, set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church; and they are undoubtedly, in some respects, a check upon the power of the pontiff, enormous as it may be. There are six more, which relate to the temporal government of the papal territories. In these congregations, all things are transacted which relate to the execution of public justice in civil or criminal matters, the levying of taxes, the providing of the cities and each of the provinces with good governors, the relieving of those who are unjustly oppressed by subordinate magistrates, the coinage, the care of the rivers, aqueducts, bridges, roads, churches, and public edifices.

[d] The court of Rome is very particularly and accurately described by Aymon (who had been, before his conversion to the protestant religion, domestic chaplain to Innocent XI.) in a book entitled Tableau de la Cour de Rome. See also Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Ceremonies qui s'y observent, which father Labat translated into French from the Italian of Jerome Limadoro, and subjoined to his Voyages en Espagne et Italie, tom. viii.—For an account of the Roman congregations, &c. see Doroth. Ascian. de Montibus Pietatis Romanis, p. 510, as also Hunold. Plettenberg, Notitia Tribunalium et Congregationum Curiæ Romanæ.

[e] Hence arises that important distinction, frequently employed by the French and other nations in their debates with the pope; I mean the distinction between his holiness and the court of Rome. The latter is often loaded with the bitterest reproaches and the heaviest accusations, while the former is spared, and in some measure excused. Nor is this distinction by any means groundless, since the cardinals and congregations, whose rights

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III. The power of the pope hath excited debates even among those who are under the papal hierarchy; and the spiritual subjects of this pretended head of the church, are very far from agreeing with respect to the extent of his authority and jurisdiction. Hence it happens, that this authority and dominion are not the same in all places, having a larger scope in some provinces, and being reduced within narrower bounds in others. If, indeed, we consider only the pretensions of the pontiff, we shall find that his power is unlimited and supreme; for there are no prerogatives that can flatter ambition, which he does not claim for himself and his court. He not only pretends, that the whole power and majesty of the church reside in his person, and are transmitted, in certain portions, from him to the inferior bishops, but moreover asserts the absolute infallibility of all decisions and decrees which he pronounces from his lordly tribunal. These arrogant pretensions are, however, opposed by many, and chiefly by the French, who expressly maintain, that every bishop receives immediately from Christ himself a portion of that spiritual power which is imparted to the church; that the collective sum, or whole of this power, is lodged in the aggregate body of its pastors, or (which is the same thing) in a general council lawfully assembled; and that the pontiff, considered personally, and as distinct from the church, is liable to error. This complicated and important controversy may be easily brought within narrower bounds, and may be reduced to the following plain question;—'Is the Roman pontiff, properly speaking, the Legislator of the church, or, is he no more than the Guardian and Depository of the laws enacted by Christ and the church?' There is no prospect of seeing this question decided, or the debates terminated to which it has given rise, since the contending parties do not even agree about the

Debates arise concerning his power.

and privileges are deemed sacred, undertake and execute many projects without the knowlege, and sometimes against the will and consent, of the pontiff himself.

CENT. XVI. proper and lawful judge of this important controversy[f]. Some great revolution alone can effect the decision of this matter.

The declension of the church of Rome.

IV. The church of Rome lost much of its ancient splendor and majesty, as soon as Luther, and the other luminaries of the reformation, had exhibited to the view of the European nations the Christian religion restored, at least to a considerable part of its native purity, and delivered from many of the superstitions under which it had lain so long disfigured. Among the most opulent states of Europe, several withdrew entirely from the jurisdiction of Rome; in others, certain provinces threw off the yoke of papal tyranny; and, upon the whole, this defection produced a striking diminution both of the wealth and power of the Roman pontiffs. It must also be observed, that even the kings, princes, and sovereign states, who adhered to the religion of Rome, yet changed their sentiments with respect to the claims and pretensions of its bishop. If they were not persuaded by the writings of the protestants to renounce the superstitions of popery, yet they received most useful instructions from them in other matters of very great moment. They drew from these writings important discoveries of the groundless claims and unlawful usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and came, at length, to perceive, that, if the jurisdiction and authority of Rome should continue the same as before the rise of Luther, the rights of temporal princes, and the majesty of civil government, would, sooner or later, be absorbed in the gulph of papal

[f] The arguments employed by the pontiff's creatures in defence of his unlimited authority, may be seen in the works of Bellarmine and other writers, of which a voluminous collection has been made by Roccaberti; and what is not a little extraordinary, a French writer, named Petitdier, appeared in defence of the pope's pretensions, in a book published at Luxemburg, in 1724, sur l'Autorité et l'Infallibilité des Papes. The sentiments of the Gallican church, and the arguments by which it opposes the pretensions of Rome, may be seen in the writings of Richer and Launoy.

avarice and ambition. Hence it was, that most of the sovereign states of Europe, partly by secret and prudent measures, partly by public negociations and remonstrances, set bounds to the daring ambition of Rome, which aimed at nothing less than universal dominion both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; nor did the pontiff think it either safe or expedient to have recourse to the ancient arms of the church, *war* and *excommunication*, in order to repel these attacks upon his authority. Even those very kingdoms, which acknowleged the Roman pontiff as the lawgiver of the church, and an infallible guide, confined his power of enacting laws within narrow limits. CENT. XVI.

V. In this declining state of their affairs, it was natural for the humbled pontiffs to look about for some method of repairing their losses; and, for this purpose, they exerted much more zeal and industry, than had been shewn by their predecessors, in extending the limits of their spiritual dominion beyond Europe, and left no means unemployed of gaining proselytes and adherents in the Indies and in Africa, both among the pagan nations and the Christian sects. The Jesuits, as we have already had occasion to observe, were the first missionaries who were employed for this purpose in those distant parts of the world; but able men, selected from the other monastic orders, were afterwards entrusted with this arduous undertaking. If, however, we except the exploits of Francis Xavier and his companions in India, China, and Japan, of which notice has been already taken, there were no great matters effected in this century; as, generally speaking, the persons who were appointed to execute this grand project, were not endowed with that experience and dexterity which it necessarily required, and entered upon the work with more zeal than prudence and knowlege. The methods employed by the Roman pontiffs to repair their losses. Missions.

The Portuguese had, in the preceding century, opened a passage into the country of the Abyssinians, who professed the doctrine, and observed the religious

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rites of the Monophysites; and hence arose a favorable occasion of reducing that people under the papal yoke. Accordingly John Bermudez was sent into Ethiopia for this purpose; and, that he might appear with a certain degree of dignity, he was invested with the title of Patriarch of the Abyssinians. The same important commission was afterwards given to Ignatius Loyola, and the companions of his labors [g]; and, at the commencement of their undertaking, several circumstances, and particularly a war with a neighbouring prince, which the Abyssinian monarch was desirous of terminating by the powerful succours of the Portuguese, seemed to promise them a successful and happy ministry. But the event did not answer this fond expectation; and, in some time, it appeared plainly, that the Abyssinians stood too firm in the faith of their ancestors, to be easily engaged to abandon and forsake it; so that, toward the conclusion of this century, the Jesuits had almost lost all hopes of succeeding in their attempts [h].

The Egyptians and Armenians.

VI. The Egyptians, or Copts, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians in their religious sentiments, and also in their external forms of worship, became the next objects of Rome's ambitious zeal; and, in 1562, Christopher Roderic, a Jesuit of note, was sent, by the express order of pope Pius IV., to propagate the cause of popery among that people. This ecclesiastic, notwithstanding the rich presents and ingenious arguments by which he attempted to change the sentiments and shake the constancy of Gabriel [i], who was at that time patriarch

☞ [g] It is certainly by mistake that Dr. Mosheim mentions Loyola as having made a voyage into Abyssinia. Jesuits were sent at different periods to that country, and with little success; but their founder was never there in person.

[h] See Ludolfi Histor. Ethiopica et Comm.—Geddes, Church History of Ethiopia, p. 120.—Le Grand, Dissertation de la Conversion des Abyssins, which is to be found in the Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie du R. P. Jerome Lobo.—La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie, liv. ii.

[i] Franc. Sacchini, Histor. Societat. Jesu. pars ii. lib. v.

of Alexandria, returned to Rome with no other effect of his ambassy, than fair words and a few compliments [k]. It is, however true, that, in 1594, during the pontificate of Clement VIII., an envoy from another patriarch of Alexandria, whose name was also Gabriel, appeared at Rome, and this circumstance was considered as a subject of triumph and boasting by the creatures of the pope [l]. But the more candid and sensible, even among the Roman catholics, looked upon this ambassy, and not without reason, as a stratagem of the Jesuits to persuade the Abyssinians (who were so prone to follow the example of their brethren of Alexandria) to join themselves to the communion of Rome, and submit to the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff [m]. It is at least certain, that we do not subsequently find the smallest token of a propensity in the Copts to embrace the doctrine or discipline of Rome. CENT. XVI.

Many years before this period, a considerable sect of the Armenians had been accustomed to treat the pope with particular marks of veneration and respect, without departing, however, from the religious doc-

—Euseb. Renaudot, Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrin. p. 611.—Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iii.

☞ [k] This patriarch offered to send one of his bishops to the council of Trent, in order to get rid of the importunity of these Jesuits; but he positively refused to send any of his young students to be educated among their order, and declared plainly, that he owed no obedience or submission to the bishop of Rome, who had no more dignity or authority than any other prelate, except within the bounds of his own diocese. See Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. ii.

[l] The transactions of this ambassy, adorned with an ample and pompous preface, are subjoined to the sixth volume of the Annal. Eccl. of Baronius.

[m] Renaudot, in his Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin., endeavours to maintain the credit and importance of this mission, of which Baronius has given such a pompous account. He is, however, in an error when he asserts, that father Simon, relying upon the fallacious testimony of George Douza, was the only person who ever considered this ambassy as a stratagem, since it is evident, that Thomas a Jesu, a Carmelite, in his treatise de Conversione omnium Gentium procurandâ, has considered it in the same light, as well as several other writers. See Geddes, Church History of Ethiopia.

CENT. XVI. trine, discipline, or worship of their ancestors. Of this a farther account shall be given in the History of the Eastern Churches: it may, however, be proper to observe here, that the attachment of this sect to the pontiff was greatly increased, and his votaries were considerably multiplied, by the zeal of Serapion, an opulent man, who was entirely devoted to the court of Rome, and who, by engaging himself to discharge the debts under which the Armenians groaned, obtained, in 1593, the title and dignity of patriarch, though there were already two patriarchs at the head of the Armenian church. He did not, however, long enjoy this dignity; for, soon after his promotion, he was sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the desire of those Armenians who adhered to the ecclesiastical discipline of their ancestors; and thus the boasting and exultation of the Romans suddenly subsided, and their hopes vanished [n].

Nestorians and Indians.

VII. The ambitious views of the Roman pontiffs sowed the pestilential seeds of animosity and discord among all the eastern churches; and the Nestorian Christians, who are also known by the denomination of Chaldeans, felt early the effects of their imperious counsels. In 1551, a warm dispute arose among that people about the creation of a new patriarch, Simeon Barmamas being proposed by one party, and Sulaka earnestly desired by the other. The latter, to support his pretensions the more effectually, repaired to Rome, and was consecrated patriarch, in 1553, by pope Julius III., whose jurisdiction he had acknowleged, and to whose commands he had promised unlimited submission and obedience. Julius gave the name John to the new Chaldean patriarch, and, upon his return to his own country, sent with him several persons, skilled in the Syriac language, to assist him in establishing and extending the papal empire among the Nestorians. From this time that unhappy people were divided into two factions, and were often involved in the greatest dangers and

[n] See Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant, tom. iii.

difficulties by the jarring sentiments and perpetual quarrels of their patriarchs [o]. CENT. XVII.

The Nestorians, or as they are more commonly called, the Christians of St. Thomas, who inhabited a part of the coast of India, suffered much from the methods employed by the Portuguese to engage them to embrace the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and to abandon the religion of their ancestors, which was much more simple and infinitely less absurd [p]. The finishing stroke was put to the violence and brutality of these attempts by don Alexis de Menezes, bishop of Goa, who, about the conclusion of this century, calling the Jesuits to his assistance, obliged this unhappy and reluctant people to embrace the religion of Rome, and to acknowlege the pope's supreme jurisdiction; against both of which acts they had always expressed the utmost abhorrence. These violent counsels and arrogant proceedings of Menezes, and his associates, were condemned by such of the Roman catholics as were most remarkable for their equity and wisdom [q].

VIII. The greatest part of the first legates and missionaries of the court of Rome treated with much severity and injustice the Christians whom they were desirous of gaining over to their communion. For they not only required that these Christians should renounce the particular opinions that separated them from the Greek and Latin churches, and that they should acknowlege the pontiff as Christ's sole vicegerent upon earth: their demands went still farther; they opposed some opinions that were at least worthy of toleration, and others which were highly agreeable to the dictates both of reason and Scripture; they

[o] Jos. Sim. Assemani, Bibliotheca Oriental. Clementino-Vaticana, tom. iii. pars ii.

☞ [p] For an account of the doctrines and worship of these, and the other eastern Christians, see the following chapter; as also two learned books of La Croze; one entitled, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, and the other, Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie.

[q] La Croze, Hist. du Christ. des Indes, liv. ii. p. 88.

CENT. XVI. insisted upon the suppression and abolition of several customs, rites, and institutions, which had been handed down from successive ancestors, and which were perfectly innocent in their nature and tendency; in a word, they would be satisfied with nothing less than an entire and minute conformity of the religious rites and opinions of the people, with the doctrine and worship of the church of Rome. The papal court, however, rendered wise by experience, perceived at length that this manner of proceeding was highly imprudent, and very unlikely to extend the limits of the papal empire in the East. It was therefore determined to treat with more artifice and moderation a matter of such moment and importance, and the missionaries were, consequently, ordered to change the plan of their operations, and confine their views to the two following points; namely, the subjection of these Christians to the jurisdiction of the pope, and their renouncing, or at least professing to renounce, the opinions that had been condemned in the general councils of the church. In all other matters, the Roman envoys were commanded to allow a perfect toleration, and to let the people remain unmolested in following the sentiments, and observing the institutions, which they had derived from their ancestors. To give the greater credit and plausibility to this new method of conversion, certain learned doctors of the church endeavoured to demonstrate, that the religious tenets of Rome, when explained according to the simplicity of truth, and not by the subtilties and definitions of the schools, differed very little from the opinions received in the Greek and the other eastern churches. But this demonstration was very far from being satisfactory, and it discovered less of an ingenuous spirit, than a disposition to gain proselytes by all sorts of means, and at all events. Be that as it may, the cause of Rome received much more advantage from this plan of moderation, than it had derived from the severity of its former counsels, though much less than the authors of this reconciling plan fondly expected.

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The internal constitution of the church of Rome strengthened in various ways.

IX. While the pontiffs were using their utmost efforts to extend their dominion abroad, they did not neglect the means that were proper to strengthen and maintain it at home. On the contrary, from the dawn of the reformation, they began to redouble their diligence in defending the internal form and constitution of their church against the dexterity and force of its adversaries. They could no more have recourse to the expedient of crusades, by which they had so often diminished the power and influence of their enemies. The revolutions which had happened in the affairs of Rome, and in the state of Europe, rendered any such method of subduing heretics visionary and impracticable. Other methods were, therefore, to be found out, and all the resources of prudence were to be exhausted in support of a declining church. Hence the laws and proceedings of the inquisition were revised and corrected in those countries where that formidable court was permitted to exert its dreadful power. Colleges and schools of learning were erected in various places, in which the studious youth were trained up, by perpetual exercise, in the art of disputing, that thus they might wield, with more dexterity and success, the arms of controversy against the enemies of Rome. The circulation of such books as were supposed to have a pernicious tendency, was either entirely prevented, or at least much obstructed, by certain lists or indexes, composed by men of learning and sagacity, and published by authority, in which these books were marked with a note of infamy, and their perusal prohibited, though with certain restrictions. The pursuit of knowlege was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and honorable marks of distinction, as well as ample rewards, were bestowed on those who made the most remarkable progress in the cultivation of letters. And, to enlarge no farther on this head, the youth, in general, were more carefully instructed in the principles and precepts of their religion, than they had formerly been. Thus it happens, that signal advantages are fre-

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quently derived from what are looked upon as the greatest evils, and much wisdom and improvement are daily acquired in the school of opposition and adversity. It is more than probable, that the church of Rome would never have been enriched with the acquisitions we have now been mentioning, had it continued in that state of uninterrupted ease and undisputed authority which nourish a spirit of indolence and luxury, and had not the pretended heretics attacked its territories, trampled upon its jurisdiction, and eclipsed a great part of its ancient majesty and splendor.

Ignatius Loyola the founder of the order called Jesuits.

X. The monastic orders and religious societies have been always considered by the Roman pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. It is chiefly by them that they rule the church, maintain their influence on the minds of the people, and augment the number of their votaries. And, indeed, various causes contribute to render the connexion between the pontiff and these religious communities much more intimate, than that which subsists between him and the other clergy, of whatever rank or order we may suppose them to be. It was therefore judged necessary, when the success of Luther and the progress of the reformation had effaced such a considerable part of the majesty of Rome, to found some new religious fraternity, that should, in a particular manner, be devoted to the interests of the Roman pontiff, and the very express end of whose institution should be to renew the vigor of a declining hierarchy, to heal the deep wound it had received, to preserve those parts of the papal dominions that remained yet entire, and to augment them by new accessions. This was so much the more necessary, as the two famous *Mendicant* societies [r], by whose ministry the popes had chiefly governed, during many ages, with success and glory, had now lost, on several accounts, a con-

[r] These two orders were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

siderable part of their influence and authority, and were thereby less capable of serving the church with efficacy and vigor than they had formerly been. What the pontiff sought, in this declining state of his affairs, was found in that famous and most powerful society, which, from the name of Jesus, derived the appellation of *Jesuits*, while its members were styled by their enemies *Loyolites* from *Loyola*, and sometimes *Inighists*[s], from the Spanish name of their founder[t]. This zealot was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight, who, from an illiterate soldier, became an unparalleled fanatic; a fanatic, indeed, of a fertile and enterprising genius[u], who, after having passed through various scenes of life, repaired to Rome, and, being there directed by the prudent counsels of persons much wiser than himself, was rendered capable of instituting such an order as the state of the church at that time essentially required[w]. CENT. XVI.

[s] The Spanish name of the founder of this order was Don Inigo de Guipuscoa.

[t] The writers who have given the most particular and circumstantial accounts of the order of the Jesuits, are enumerated by Christoph. Aug. Salig, in his Historia August. Confessionis, tom. ii. p. 73.

[u] Many Jesuits have written the life of this extraordinary man; but the greatest part of these biographers seem more intent upon advancing the glory of their founder, than solicitous about the truth and fidelity of their relations; and hence the most common events, and the most trivial actions that concern Ignatius, are converted into prodigies and miracles. The history of this enterprising fanatic has been composed with equal truth and ingenuity, though seasoned with a very large portion of wit and pleasantry, by a French writer, who calls himself Hercules Rasiel de Selve*. This work, which is divided into two volumes, is entitled, Histoire de l'admirable Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Inighistes.

[w] Not only the Protestants, but also a great number of the more learned and judicious Roman catholics, have unanimously denied, that Ignatius Loyola had either learning sufficient to compose the writings of which he is said to be the author, or

* This is a feigned name; the real author was Le Vier, an ingenious bookseller, who lived formerly at the Hague.

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The nature of the order and institution of the Jesuits.

XI. The Jesuits hold a middle rank between the monks and the secular clerks, and, with respect to the nature of their institute, approach nearer to the regular canons than to any other order; for, though they resemble the monks in this, that they live separate from the multitude, and are bound by religious vows, yet they are exempt from stated hours of worship, and other numerous and burthensome services, which lie heavy upon the monastic orders, that they may have more time to employ in the education of youth, in directing the consciences of the faithful, in edifying the church by their pious and learned productions, and in transacting other matters that relate to the prosperity of the papal hierarchy. Their whole order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the *professed members*, who live in what are called the professed houses; the second contains the *scholars*, who instruct the youth in the colleges; and to the third belong the *novices*, who live in the houses of probation[x]. The professed members, beside the three ordinary vows of poverty, chastity, and obe-

genius enough to form the society of which he is considered as the founder. They maintain, on the contrary, that he was no more than a flexible instrument in the hands of able and ingenious men, who made use of his fortitude and fanaticism to answer their purposes; and that persons much more learned than he, were employed to compose the writings which bear his name. See Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. iii.—The greatest part of his works are supposed to have proceeded from the pen of his secretary John de Palanco; see La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie, p. 55, 271. The Benedictines affirm, that his book of Spiritual Exercises is copied from the work of a Spanish Benedictine monk, whose name was Cisneros (see La Vie de M. de la Croze par Jordan); and the constitutions of the society were probably the work of Lainez and Salmeron, two learned men who were among its first members. See Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. i.

☞ [x] Other writers add a fourth class, consisting of the spiritual and temporal co-adjutors, who assist the professed members, and perform the same functions, without being bound by any more than the three *simple* vows; though, after a long and approved exercise of their employment, the spiritual coadjutors are admitted to the fourth vow, and thus become *professed* members.

dience, common to all the monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves to go without deliberation or delay wherever the pope shall think fit to send them; they are also a kind of Mendicants, being without any fixed subsistence, and living upon the liberality of pious and well-disposed persons. The other Jesuits, and more particularly the scholars, possess large revenues, and are obliged, in case of urgent necessity, to contribute to the support of the professed members. The latter, who are few in number, in comparison with the other classes, are, in general, men of prudence and learning, deeply skilled in the affairs of the world, and dexterous in transacting all kinds of business from long experience, added to their natural penetration and sagacity; in a word, they are the true and perfect Jesuits. The rest have, indeed, the title, but are rather the companions and assistants of the Jesuits, than real members of that mysterious order; and it is only in a very vague and general sense, that the denomination of Jesuits can be applied to them. What is still more remarkable, the secrets of the society are not revealed even to all the professed members. It is only a small number of this class, whom old age has enriched with thorough experience, and whom long trial has declared to be worthy of such an important trust, that are instructed in the mysteries of the order. CENT. XVI.

The zeal of the Jesuits for the interests of the Roman pontiff.

XII. The church and court of Rome, since the remarkable period when so many kingdoms and provinces withdrew from their jurisdiction, have derived more influence and support from the labors of this single order than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all the various exertions of their power and opulence. It was this famous company, which, spreading itself with an astonishing rapidity over the greatest part of the habitable world, confirmed the wavering nations in the faith of Rome, restrained the progress of the rising sects, gained over a prodigious number of Pagans in the most barbarous and remote

CENT. XVI. parts of the globe to the profession of popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all denominations; appearing almost alone in the field of controversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution the whole burthen of this religious war, and far surpassing the champions of antiquity, both in the subtilty of their reasonings, and the eloquence of their discourses. Nor was this all; for, by the affected softness and complying spirit which reigned in their conversation and manners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil transactions, by their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplishments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar favor and protection of statesmen, persons of the first distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did any thing contribute more to give them a general ascendency, than the cunning and dexterity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to the propensities of mankind, and depriving it, on certain occasions, of the severity that rendered it burthensome to the sensual and voluptuous. By this they supplanted, in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, the Dominicans and other rigid doctors, who formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of consciences; and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of royal grandeur, whence issue the counsels that govern mankind[y]. An order of this nature could not but be highly adapted to promote the interests of the court of Rome; and this, indeed, was its great end, and the leading purpose of which it never lost sight, employing every where its utmost vigilance and art to support the authority of the pontiffs, and to save them from the contempt, of which they must have

[y] Before this order was instituted, the Dominicans alone directed the consciences of all the European kings and princes; and it was by the Jesuits that the Dominicans were deprived of a privilege so precious to spiritual ambition. See Peyrat's Antiquités de la Chapelle de France.

been naturally apprehensive, in consequence of a revolution that opened the eyes of a great part of mankind. CENT. XVI.

All these circumstances placed the order of Jesuits in a conspicuous point of light. Their capacity, their influence, and their zeal for the papacy, had a very advantageous retrospect upon themselves, as it swelled the sources of their opulence, and procured to their society an uncommon, and indeed an excessive degree of respect and veneration. But it is also true, that these signal honors and advantages exposed them, at the same time, to the envy of other religious orders; that their enemies multiplied from day to day; and that they were often involved in the greatest perplexities and perils. Monks, courtiers, civil magistrates, public schools, united their efforts to crush this rising fabric of ambition and policy; and a prodigious number of books were published to prove, that nothing could be more detrimental to the interests of religion, and the well-being of society, than the institution of the Jesuits. In France, Poland, and other countries, they were declared public enemies of their country, traitors, and parricides, and were even banished with ignominy [z]. But the prudence, or rather the craft and artifice, of the disciples of Loyola, calmed this storm of opposition, and, by gentle and imperceptible methods, restored the credit and authority of their order, delivered it from the perils with which it had been threatened, and even put it in a state of defence against the future attempts of its adversaries [a].

[z] See the Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iii. p. 48, &c.—Boulay, Hist. Academ. Paris, tom. vi. p. 559—648—as well as almost all the writers (but more particularly the Jansenists), who have given accounts of the sixteenth century.

☞ [a] The character and spirit of the Jesuits were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold, with a sagacity almost prophetic, so early as the year 1551, in a sermon preached in Christ Church, Dublin, by Dr. George Brown, archbishop of that see; a copy of which was given to Sir James Ware, and may be found in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 566.

CENT. XVI.

Roman pontiffs.

XIII. The pontiffs of this century, after Alexander VI., were Pius III., Julius II.[b], Leo X., Adrian VI., whose characters and transactions have been already noticed; Clement VII., of the house of Medici; Paul III., of the illustrious family of Farnese[c],

The remarkable passage relating to that order, is as follows: "There are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive many, who are much after "the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they "shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near "to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several "forms; with the heathens a heathenist, with the atheists an "atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformade, "purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, "and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like "the fool that said in his heart, 'There was no God.' These "shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the "councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, "yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets "therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from "falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of "God, and by winking at their sins; yet, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the "hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of "them; so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all "nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-"place upon earth; and then shall a Jew have more favour than "a Jesuit."—This singular passage, I had almost said prediction, seems to be accomplished in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in France (I write this note in the year 1762), and by the great indignation which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society, have excited among all orders of the French nation, from the throne to the cottage.

☞ [b] It was from a foolish ambition of resembling Cæsar (a very singular model for a Christian pontiff), that this pope, whose name was Rovere, assumed the denomination of Julius II. It may indeed be said, that Cæsar was sovereign pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), and that the bishop of Rome enjoyed the same dignity, though with some change in the title.

[c] The sentiments and character of Paul III. have given rise to much debate, even in our time, especially between the late cardinal Quirini, and Keisling, Schelhorn, and some other writers. The cardinal has used his utmost efforts to defend the probity and merit of this pontiff, while the two learned men abovementioned represent him as a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud. See Quirini's work de Gestis Pauli III. Farnesii. ☞ Among the *res gestæ*

Julius III.[d], whose name was John Maria Giocci; Marcellus II.; Paul IV.[e], whose name, before his elevation to the pontificate, was John Peter Caraffa; Pius IV., who was ambitious of being looked upon as a branch of the house of Medici, and who had been known, before his promotion, by the name of John Angelo de Medicis; Pius V., a Dominican, called Michael Ghisleri, a man of an austere and melancholy turn of mind, by which, and other similar qualities, he obtained a place in the kalendar; Gregory XIII., who was previously known by the name of Hugo Buoncompagno[f]; Sixtus V., otherwise named CENT. XVI.

of Paul III. were two bastards, whose offspring, Farnese and Sforza, were made cardinals in their infancy. See Keislingii Epist. de Gestis Pauli III.—Schelhorn. Amœnitates Hist. Eccles. et Liter. But the licentious exploits of this pope do not end here. He was reproached, in a book published before his death under the name of Ochino, with having poisoned his mother and his nephew, with having ravished a young virgin at Ancona, with an incestuous and adulterous commerce with his daughter Constantia, who died of poison administered by him, to prevent any interruption in his odious amours. It is said, in the same book, that, being caught in bed with his niece, Laura Farnese, who was the wife of Nic. Quercei, he received from this incensed husband a stab of a dagger, of which he bore the marks to his death. See Sleidan's Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipublicæ, Carolo Quinto Cæsare, lib. xxi.

☞ [d] This was the worthy pontiff, who was scarcely seated in the papal chair, when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See Thuan. lib. vi. et xv.—Hoffin. Hist. Eccles. tom. v. p. 572—and more especially Sleidan's Histor. lib. xxi.—When Julius was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning, nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, "What virtue or merit they had found in him, that could induce them to place him (Julius) in the papal chair?"

☞ [e] Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment of queen Elizabeth. See Burnet's History of the Reformation. —It was he who, by a bull, pretended to raise Ireland to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also who first instituted the Index of prohibited books, mentioned above, in the first note [c], sect. iii.

[f] See Jo. Petr. Maffei Annales Gregorii XIII.

CENT. XVI. Felix Peretti di Montalto, who, in pride, magnificence, intrepidity, and strength of mind, and in other great virtues and vices, far surpassed all his predecessors; Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., the shortness of whose reigns prevented them from acquiring reputation, or incurring reproach.

Among these pontiffs there were better and worse[g]; but they were all men of decent and even exemplary characters, when compared with the greatest part of those who governed the church before the reformation. For the number of adversaries, both foreign and domestic, that arose to set limits to the despotism of Rome, and to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff, rendered the college of cardinals, and the Roman nobility, more cautious and circumspect in the choice of a spiritual ruler; nor did they dare, in these critical circumstances of opposition and danger, to entrust such an important dignity to any ecclesiastic, whose bare-faced licentiousness, shameless arrogance, or inconsiderate youth, might render him peculiarly obnoxious to reproach, and furnish new matter of censure to their adversaries. It is also worthy of observation, that from this period of opposition, occasioned by the ministry of the Reformers, the pontiffs have never pretended to such an exclusive authority, as they had formerly usurped; nor could

[g] Pius V. and Sixtus V. made a much greater figure in the annals of fame, than the other pontiffs here mentioned; the former on account of his excessive severity against heretics, and the famous bull *In Cœnâ Domini*, which is read publicly at Rome every year on the Festival of the Holy Sacrament; and the latter, in consequence of many services rendered to the church, and numberless attempts, carried on with spirit, fortitude, generosity, and perseverance, to promote its glory, and maintain its authority.—Several modern writers employed their pens in describing the life and actions of Pius V. as soon as they saw him canonised, in 1712, by Clement XI. Of the bull to which we have alluded, and the tumults it occasioned, there is an ample account in Giannone's Historia di Napoli, vol. iv. The life of Sixtus V. was written by Gregorio Leti, and the work has been translated into several languages; it is, however, a very indifferent performance, and the relations which it contains are, in many places, inaccurate and unfaithful.

they, indeed, make good such pretensions, were they so presumptuous as to avow them. They claim, therefore, no longer a power of deciding, by their single authority, matters of the highest moment and importance; but, for the most part, pronounce according to the sentiments that prevail in the college of cardinals, and in the different congregations, which are entrusted with their respective parts in the government of the church; and they rarely venture to excite serious divisions in foreign states, to arm subjects against their rulers, or to level the thunder of their excommunications at the heads of princes. All such proceedings, which were formerly so frequent at the court of Rome, have been in a great measure suspended, in consequence of the gradual decline of that ignorance and superstition which prescribed a blind obedience to the pontiff, and of the new degrees of power and authority that monarchs and other civil rulers have gained by the revolutions that have shaken the papal throne. In a word, imperious necessity has produced prudence and moderation even at Rome. CENT. XVI.

XIV. That part of the body of the clergy, which was more peculiarly devoted to the pope, seemed to undergo no change during this century. As to the bishops, it is certain that they made several zealous attempts, and some even in the council of Trent, for the recovery of the ancient rights and privileges, of which they had been forcibly deprived by the pontiffs. They were even persuaded that his holiness might be lawfully obliged to acknowlege, that the episcopal dignity was of divine original, and that the bishops received their authority immediately from Christ himself[h]. But all these attempts were successfully opposed by the artifice and dexterity of the court of Rome, which did not cease to propagate and enforce this despotic maxim; "That the bishops are "no more than the legates or ministers of Christ's "vicar; and that the authority which they exercise The state of the clergy.

[h] See Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.

CENT. XV. "is entirely derived from the munificence and *favor* "*of the apostolic see:*" a maxim, however, that several bishops, and more especially those of France, treated with little respect. Some advantages, however, and those not inconsiderable, were obtained for the clergy at the expence of the pontiffs; for those *reservations*, *provisions*, *exemptions*, and *expectatives* (as they are termed by the Roman lawyers), which before the Reformation had excited such heavy and bitter complaints throughout Europe, and exhibited the clearest proofs of papal avarice and tyranny, were now almost totally suppressed.

The lives and morals of the clergy.

XV. Among the subjects of deliberation in the council of Trent, the reformation of the lives and manners of the clergy, and the suppression of the scandalous vices that had too long reigned in that order, were not forgotten; and several wise and prudent laws were enacted with a view to that important object. But those who had the cause of virtue at heart, complained (and the reason of such complaint still subsists) that these laws were no more than feeble precepts, without any avenging arm to maintain their authority; and that they were transgressed, with impunity, by the clergy of all ranks, and particularly by those who filled the highest stations and dignities of the church. In reality, if we cast our eyes upon the Romish clergy, even in the present time, these complaints will appear as well founded now, as they were in the sixteenth century. In Germany, as is notorious to daily observation, the bishops, if we except their habit, their title, and a few ceremonies that distinguish them, have nothing in their manner of living that is, in the least, adapted to point out the nature of their sacred office. In other countries, a great part of the episcopal order, unmolested by the remonstrances or reproofs of the Roman pontiff, pass their days amidst the pleasures and cabals of courts, and appear rather the slaves of temporal princes, than the servants of Him *whose kingdom is not of this world.* They court glory; they aspire

after riches, while very few employ their time and labors in edifying the people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit of practical religion and substantial virtue; and (what is still more deplorable) those bishops, who, sensible of the sanctity of their character and the duties of their office, distinguish themselves by their zeal in the cause of virtue and good morals, are frequently exposed to the malicious efforts of envy, often loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds. It may, indeed, be partly in consequence of the examples they have received, and still too often receive, from the heads of the church, that so many of the bishops live dissolved in the arms of luxury, or toiling in the service of ambition. Many of them, perhaps, would have been more attentive to their vocation, and more exemplary in their manners, if they had not been corrupted by the models exhibited to them by the bishops of Rome, and if they had not constantly before their eyes a splendid succession of popes and cardinals, remarkable only for their luxury and avarice, their arrogance and vindictive spirit, their voluptuousness and vanity. CENT. XVI.

Those ecclesiastics who go under the denomination of canons, continue, almost every where, their ancient course of life, and consume, in a manner far remote from piety and virtue, the treasures which the religious zeal and liberality of their ancestors had consecrated to the uses of the church and the relief of the poor.

It must not, however, be imagined, that all the other orders of the clergy are at liberty to follow such corrupt models, or, indeed, that their inclinations and reigning habits tend toward such a loose and voluptuous manner of living: for it is certain, that the Reformation had a manifest influence even upon the Roman catholic clergy, by rendering them, at least, more circumspect and cautious in their external conduct, that they might be thus less obnoxious to the censures of their adversaries; and it is accordingly

CENT. XVI. well known, that since that period the clergy of the inferior orders have been more attentive than they formerly were to the rules of outward decency, and have given less offence by open and scandalous vices and excesses.

Monks—The ancient orders reformed.

XVI. The same observation holds good with respect to the monastic orders. There are, indeed, several things, worthy of the severest animadversion, chargeable upon many of the heads and rulers of these societies; nor are these societies themselves entirely exempt from that indolence, intemperance, ignorance, artifice, discord, and voluptuousness, which were formerly the common and reigning vices in the monastic retreats. It would be nevertheless an instance of great partiality and injustice to deny, that in many countries the manner of living, among these religious orders, has been considerably reformed, severe rules have been employed to restrain licentiousness, and much pains taken to conceal, at least, such vestiges of ancient corruption and irregularity as may yet remain. In some places, the austerity of the ancient rules of discipline, which had been so shamefully relaxed, was restored by several zealous patrons of monastic devotion; while others, animated with the same zeal, instituted new communities, in order to promote, as they piously imagined, a spirit of religion, and thus to contribute to the well-being of the church.

Of this latter number was Matthew de Bassi, a native of Italy, the extent of whose capacity was much inferior to the goodness of his intentions. He was a Franciscan of the rigid class [i], one of those who were zealous in observing rigorously the primitive

[i] The dispute that arose among the Franciscans by Innocent the Fourth's relaxing so far their institute as to allow property and possessions in their community, produced a division of the order into two classes, of which the more considerable, who adopted the papal relaxation, were denominated Conventuals, and the other, who rejected it, Brethren of the Observance. The latter professed to observe and follow rigorously the primitive laws and institute of their founder.

rules of their institution. This honest enthusiast seriously persuaded himself, that he was divinely inspired with the zeal which impelled him to restore the rules of the Franciscan order to their primitive austerity; and, looking upon this violent and irresistible impulse as a celestial commission, attended with sufficient authority, he commenced this work of monastic reformation with the most devout assiduity and ardor [k]. His enterprise was honored, in 1525, with the solemn approbation of Clement VII.; and this was the origin of the order of *Capuchins*. The vows of this order implied the greatest contempt of the world and its enjoyments, and the most profound humility, accompanied with the most austere and sullen gravity of external aspect [l]; and its reputation and success excited, in the other Franciscans, the most bitter feelings of indignation and envy [m]. The Capuchins were so called from the sharp-pointed *capuche*, or cowl [n], which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit, and which is supposed to have been used by St. Francis himself [o]. CENT. XVI.

☞ [k] The Brethren of the Observance, mentioned in the preceding note, had degenerated, in process of time, from their primitive self-denial; and hence arose the reforming spirit that animated Bassi.

[l] See Luc. Waddingi Annales Ordinis Minorum, tom. xvi.—Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, tom. vii. ch. xxiv. and, above all, Zach. Boverii Annales Capucinorum.

☞ [m] One of the circumstances that exasperated most the Franciscans, was the innovation made in their habit by the Capuchins. Whatever was the cause of their choler, true it is, that their provincial persecuted the new monks, and obliged them to fly from place to place, until they at last took refuge in the palace of the duke of Camerino, by whose credit they were received under the obedience of the Conventuals, in the quality of hermits minors, in 1527. The next year the pope approved this union, and confirmed to them the privilege of wearing the square capuche; and thus the order was established in 1528.

☞ [n] I know not on what authority the learned Michael Geddes attributes the erection and denomination of this order to one Francis Puchine.

[o] See Du Fresne, Glossarium Latinitat. medii Ævi, tom. ii.

CENT. XVI. Another branch of the Franciscan order formed a new community, under the denomination of Recollets in France, Reformed Franciscans in Italy, and Bare-footed Franciscans in Spain; these were erected into a separate order, with their respective laws and rules of discipline, in 1532, by the authority of Clement VII. They differed from the other Franciscans in this only, that they professed to follow, with greater zeal and exactness, the austere institute of their common founder and chief; whence they were sometimes called Friars Minors of the strict observance [p].

St. Theresa, a Spanish lady of an illustrious family, undertook the difficult task of reforming the Carmelite order [q], which had departed much from its primitive sanctity, and of restoring its neglected and violated laws to their original credit and authority. Her associate, in this arduous attempt, was Juan de Santa-Cruz; and her enterprise was not wholly unsuccessful, although the greater part of the Carmelites opposed her aims. Hence the order was, during a period of ten years, divided into two branches, of which one followed a milder rule of discipline, while the other embraced an institute of the most severe and self-denying kind [r]. But, as these different rules of life among the members of the same community were a perpetual source of animosity and discord, the more austere, or bare-footed Carmelites, were separated from the others, and formed into a distinct body, in 1580, by Gregory XIII. at the particular desire of Philip II. king of Spain. This separation was confirmed, in 1587, by Sixtus V. and completed, in 1593, by Clement VIII. who allowed the bare-footed Carmelites to have their own chief, or general. But, after having withdrawn themselves from the

[p] See the Annales of Wadding, tom. xvi.—Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monast. tom. vii. ch. xviii.

[q] Otherwise called the White-Friars.

☞ [r] The former, who were the Carmelites of the ancient observance, were called the moderate or mitigated, while the latter, who were of the strict observance, were distinguished by the denomination of bare-footed Carmelites.

others, these austere friars quarreled among themselves, and in a few years their dissensions grew to an intolerable height: hence they were divided anew, by the last-mentioned pontiff, into two communities, each of which had its governor or general [s]. CENT. XVI.

XVII. Of all the new orders instituted in this century, the most eminent, beyond all doubt, was that of the Jesuits, which we have already had occasion to mention, in speaking of the chief pillars of the church of Rome, and the principal supports of the declining authority of its pontiffs. Compared with this aspiring and formidable society, all the other religious orders appear inconsiderable and obscure. The Reformation, among the other changes which it occasioned, even in the Romish church, by exciting the circumspection and emulation of those who still remained addicted to popery, gave rise to various communities, which were all comprehended under the general denomination of Regular Clerks; and as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with a design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of piety and virtue, which had distinguished the sacred order in the primitive times, this was a plain, though tacit confession of the present corruption of the clergy, and consequently of the indispensable necessity of the reformation. New monastic orders.

The first society of these regular clerks arose in 1524, under the denomination of *Theatins*, which they derived from their principal founder John Peter Caraffa (then bishop of Theate, or Chieti, in the kingdom of Naples, and afterwards pope, under the title of Paul IV.,) who was assisted in this pious undertaking by Caietan, or Gaetan, and other devout associates. These monks, being by their vows destitute of all possessions and revenues, and even precluded from the resource of begging, subsist entirely upon the voluntary liberality of pious persons. They are Theatins.

[s] Helyot, Histoire des Ordres, tom. i. ch. xlvii. p. 340.

CENT. XVI. called by their profession and institute to revive a spirit of devotion, to purify and reform the eloquence of the pulpit, to assist the sick and the dying by their spiritual instructions and counsels, and to combat heretics of all denominations with zeal and assiduity [t]. There are also some female convents established under the rule and title of this order.

Clerks of St. Paul.

This establishment was followed by that of the *Regular Clerks of St. Paul*, so called from their having chosen that apostle for their patron; though they are more commonly known under the denomination of *Barnabites*, from the church of St. Barnabas, at Milan, which was bestowed upon them in 1545. This order, which was approved in 1532 by Clement VII. and confirmed about three years after by Paul III., was originally founded by Antonio Mavia Zacharias of Cremona, and Bartholomew Ferrari, and Ant. Morigia, noblemen of Milan. Its members were at first obliged to live after the manner of the Theatins, renouncing all worldly goods and possessions, and depending upon the spontaneous donations of the liberal for their daily subsistence. But they soon became weary of this precarious method of living from hand to mouth, and therefore took the liberty, in process of time, of securing to their community certain possessions and stated revenues. Their principal function is to go from place to place, like the apostles, in order to convert sinners, and bring back transgressors into the paths of repentance and obedience [u].

Clerks of St. Maieul.

The Regular Clerks of St. Maieul, who are also called the fathers of Somasquo, from the place where their community was first established, and which was also the residence of their founder, were erected into a distinct society by Jerome Æmiliani, a noble

[t] Helyot, tom. iv. ch. xii.

[u] Helyot, tom. iv. ch. xvi. p. 100.—In the same volume of his incomparable history, this learned author gives a most accurate, ample, and interesting account of the other religious orders, which are here, for the sake of brevity, barely mentioned.

Venetian, and were afterwards successively confirmed, in the years 1540 and 1543, by the Roman pontiffs Paul III. and Pius IV.[w]. Their chief occupation was to instruct the ignorant, and particularly young persons, in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to procure assistance for those who were reduced to the unhappy condition of orphans. The same important ministry was committed to the Fathers of the Christian doctrine in France and Italy. The order that bore this title in France was instituted by Cæsar de Bus, and confirmed in 1597 by Clement VIII. while that which is known in Italy under the same denomination, derived its origin from Mark Cusani, a Milanese knight, and was established by the approbation and authority of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. CENT. XVI.

XVIII. It would be an endless, and, indeed, an unprofitable labor to enumerate particularly the prodigious multitude of less considerable orders and religious associations, that were instituted in Germany and other countries, from an apprehension of the pretended heretics, who disturbed by their innovations the peace, or rather the lethargy, of the church; for certainly no age produced such a swarm of monks, and such a number of convents, as that in which Luther and other reformers opposed the divine light and power of the Gospel to ignorance, superstition, and papal tyranny. We therefore pass over in silence these less important establishments, of which many have been long buried in oblivion, because they were erected on unstable foundations, while numbers were suppressed by the wisdom of certain pontiffs, who considered the multitude of these communities rather as prejudicial than advantageous to the church. Nor can we take particular notice of the female convents, or nunneries, among which the Ursulines shone forth with a superior lustre both in point of number and dignity. The *Priests of the Oratory*, founded in Other new religious communities.

[w] Acta Sanctor. Februar. tom. ii. p. 217.

CENT. XVI. Italy by Philip Neri, a native of Florence, and, publicly honored with the protection of Gregory XIII. in 1577, must, however, be excepted from this general silence, on account of the eminent figure they made in the republic of letters. It was this community that produced Baronius, Raynaldus, and Laderchius, who hold so high a rank among the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and following centuries; and there are still to be found in it men of considerable erudition and capacity. The name of this religious society was derived from an apartment, accommodated in the form of an *Oratory*[x], or cabinet for devotion, which St. Philip Neri built at Florence for himself, and in which, for many years, he held spiritual conferences with his more intimate companions[y].

The state of learning.

XIX. It is too evident to admit the least dispute, that all kinds of erudition, whether sacred or profane, were held in much higher esteem in the western world since the time of Luther, than they had been before that auspicious period. The Jesuits, more especially, boast, and perhaps not without reason, that their society contributed more, at least in this century, to the culture of the languages, the improvement of the arts, and the advancement of true science, than all the rest of the religious orders. It is certain that the directors of schools and academies, either through indolence or design, persisted obstinately in their ancient method of teaching, though that method was intricate and disagreeable in many respects; nor would they suffer themselves to be better informed, or permit the least change in their uncouth and disgusting systems. The monks were not more remarkable than the academic teachers for their compliance with the growing taste for polished literature, nor

[x] Helyot, tom. viii. ch. iv. p. 12.

[y] He was peculiarly assisted in these conferences by Baronius, author of the Ecclesiastical Annals, who also succeeded him as general of the order, and whose annals, on account of his imperfect knowlege of the Greek language, are remarkably full of gross faults, misrepresentations, and blunders.

did they seem at all disposed to admit, into the retreats of their gloomy cloisters, a more solid and elegant method of instruction than they had been formerly accustomed to. These facts furnish a rational account of the surprising variety that appears in the style and manner of the writers of this age, of whom several express their sentiments with elegance, perspicuity, and order, while the diction and style of a great number of their contemporaries are barbarous, perplexed, obscure, and insipid. CENT. XVI.

Cæsar Baronius, already mentioned, undertook to throw light on the history of religion by his annals of the Christian church; but this pretended light was scarcely any thing better than perplexity and darkness[z]. His example, however, excited many to enterprises of the same nature. The attempts of the persons whom the Romanists called heretics, rendered indeed such enterprises necessary: for these heretics, with the learned Flacius and Chemnitz at their head[a], demonstrated with the utmost evidence, that not only the declarations of Scripture, but also the testimony of ancient history and the records of the primitive church, were in direct opposition both to the doctrines and pretensions of the church of Rome. This was wounding popery with its own arms, and attacking it in its pretended strong-holds. It was, therefore, incumbent upon the friends of Rome to employ, while it was time, their most zealous efforts in maintaining the credit of those ancient fables, on which

[z] The learned Isaac Casaubon undertook a refutation of the Annals of Baronius, in an excellent work, entitled, Exercitationes, &c. and though he carried it no farther down than the 34th year of the Christian æra, yet he pointed out a prodigious number of palpable, and (many of them) shameful errors, into which the Romish annalist has fallen during that short space. Even the Roman-catholic *literati* acknowlege the inaccuracies and faults of Baronius; hence many learned men, such as Pagi, Noris, and Tillemont, employed themselves in the task of correction; and accordingly a new edition of the work, with their emendations, appeared at Lucca.

[a] The former in the Centuriæ Magdeburgenses; the latter in his Examen Concilii Tridentini.

CENT. XVI. the greatest part of the papal authority reposed, as its only foundation and support.

The state of philosophy.

XX. Several men of genius in France and Italy, who have been already mentioned with the esteem that is due to their valuable labors [b], used their most zealous endeavours to reform the barbarous philosophy of the times. But the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the Aristotelian philosophy on one hand, and, on the other, the timorous prudence of many weak-minded persons, who were apprehensive that the liberty of striking out new discoveries and ways of thinking might be prejudicial to the church, and open a new source of division and discord, crushed all these generous efforts. The throne of the Stagirite remained therefore unshaken; and his philosophy, whose very obscurity afforded a certain gloomy kind of pleasure, and flattered the pride of such as were implicitly supposed to understand it, reigned unrivaled in the schools and monasteries. It even acquired new credit and authority from the Jesuits, who taught it in their colleges, and made use of it in their writings and disputes. By this, however, these artful ecclesiastics shewed evidently, that the captious jargon and subtilties of that intricate philosophy were much more adapted to puzzle heretics, and to give the popish doctors at least the appearance of carrying on the controversy with success, than the plain and obvious method of disputing, which is pointed out by the genuine dictates of right reason.

Theological writers of the Romish persuasion.

XXI. The church of Rome produced in this century, a prodigious number of theological writers. The most eminent of these, in point of reputation and merit, were the following: Thomas de Vio, otherwise named cardinal Caietan, Eckius, Cochlæus, Emser, Surius, Hosius, Faber, Sadolet, Pighius, Vatable, Canus, D'Espence, Caranza, Maldonatus, Turrianus, Arias Montanus, Catharinus, Reginald Pole,

[b] See above, Sect. II.

Sixtus Senensis, Cassander, Paya d'Andrada, Baius, Pamelius, and others[c]. CENT. XVI.

XXII. The religion of Rome, which the pontiffs are so desirous of imposing upon the faith of all that bear the Christian name, is derived, according to the unanimous accounts of its doctors, from two sources, the written word of God, and the unwritten; or, in other words, from Scripture and tradition. But, as the most eminent divines of that church are far from being agreed concerning the persons who are authorised to interpret the declarations of these two oracles, and to determine their sense; so it may be asserted, with truth, that there is, as yet, no possibility of knowing with certainty what are the real doctrines of the church of Rome, or where, in that communion, the judge of religious controversy is to be found. It is true, the court of Rome, and all who favor the despotic pretensions of its pontiff, maintain, that he alone, who governs the church as Christ's vicegerent, is authorised to explain and determine the sense of Scripture and tradition in matters pertaining to salvation, and that, in consequence, a devout and unlimited obedience is due to his decisions. To give weight to this opinion, Pius IV. formed the plan of a council, which was afterwards instituted and confirmed by Sixtus V. and called the Congregation for interpreting the decrees of the Council of Trent. This congregation was authorised to examine and decide, in the name of the pope, all matters of small moment relating to ecclesiastical discipline, while every debate of importance, and particularly all disquisitions concerning points of faith and doctrine, were left to the decision of the pontiff alone, as the great oracle of the church[d]. Notwithstanding all The principles of the Roman Catholic faith.

[c] For an ample account of the literary characters, rank, and writings of these learned men, and of several others whose names are here omitted, see Louis El. Du-Pin, Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, tom. xiv. and xvi.

[d] See Aymon, Tableau de la Cour de Rome, part v. ch. iv. ☞ Hence it was, that the approbation of Innocent XI. was refused to the artful and insidious work of Bossuet, bishop of

CENT. XVI. this, it was impossible to persuade the wiser part of the Roman-catholic body to acknowlege this exclusive authority in their head. And accordingly, the greatest part of the Gallican church, and a considerable number of very learned men of the popish religion in other countries, think very differently from the court of Rome on this subject. They maintain, that all bishops and doctors have a right to consult the sacred fountains of Scripture and tradition, and to draw thence the rules of faith and manners for themselves and their flock; and that all difficult points and debates of consequence are to be referred to the cognisance and decision of general councils. Such is the difference of opinion (with respect to the adjustment of doctrine and controversy) that still divides the church of Rome; and, as no judge has been (and perhaps none can be) found to compose it, we may reasonably despair of seeing the religion of Rome acquire a permanent, stable, and determinate form.

The council of Trent.

XXIII. The council of Trent was assembled, as was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigor of its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. But, in the opinion of those who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaints of the wisest men in both communions. They complain that many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points (that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate) were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, were recommended as such, and even imposed with violence upon the consciences of the people, under pain of excommunication. They complain of the

Meaux, entitled, 'An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church,' until the author had suppressed the first edition of that work, and made corrections and alterations in the second.

ambiguity that prevails in the decrees and declarations of that council, by which the disputes and dissensions that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear definitions and wise and temperate decisions, were rendered, on the contrary, more perplexed and intricate, and were, in reality, propagated and multiplied instead of being suppressed or diminished. Nor were these the only reasons of complaint; for it must have been afflicting to those who had the cause of true religion and Christian liberty at heart, to see all things decided, in that assembly, according to the despotic will of the pope, without any regard to the dictates of truth, or the authority of Scripture, its genuine and authentic source, and to see the assembled fathers reduced to silence by the arrogance of the Roman legates, and deprived of that influence and credit which might have rendered them capable of healing the wounds of the church. It was moreover a grievance justly to be complained of, that the few wise and pious regulations that were made in that council, were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to degenerate into a mere lifeless form, or shadow of law, which was treated with indifference, and transgressed with impunity. To sum up all in one short sentence, the most candid and impartial observers of things consider the council of Trent as an assembly that was more attentive to what might maintain the despotic authority of the pontiff, than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church. It will not therefore appear surprising, that certain doctors of the Romish church, instead of submitting to the decisions of the council of Trent as an ultimate rule of faith, maintain, that these decisions are to be explained by the dictates of Scripture and the language of tradition; nor, when all these things are duly considered, shall we have reason to wonder, that this council has not throughout the same degree of credit and authority, even in

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CENT. XVI. those countries which profess the Roman-catholic religion [c].

Some countries, indeed, such as Germany, Poland, and Italy, have adopted implicitly and absolutely the decrees of this assembly, without the smallest restriction of any kind. But in other regions it has been received and acknowleged on certain conditions, which modify not a little its pretended authority. Among the latter we may reckon the Spanish dominions, which disputed, during many years, the authority of this council, and acknowleged it at length only so far as it could be adopted without any prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the king of Spain [f]. In other countries, such as France [g] and Hungary [h], it never has been solemnly received, or publicly acknowleged. It is true, indeed, that, in the former of these kingdoms, such decrees of Trent as relate to points of religious doctrine, have, tacitly and imperceptibly, through the power of custom, acquired the force and authority of rules of faith; but those which regard external discipline, spiritual power, and ecclesiastical government, have been constantly rejected, both in a public and private manner, as inconsistent with the authority and prerogatives of the throne, and prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church [i].

☞ [c] The translator has here inserted in the text the note [b] of the original, and has thrown the citations it contains into different notes.

[f] See Giannone, Historia di Napoli, vol. iv.

[g] See Hect. Godofr. Masii Diss. de Contemptu Concilii Tridentini in Galliâ; and also the excellent discourse which Dr. Courayer has annexed to his French translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent.

[h] See Lorand. Samuelof, Vita Andr. Dudithii.

[i] See Du-Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, tom. xv. p. 380.

☞ For what relates to the literary history of the council of Trent, to the historians who have transmitted accounts of it, and other circumstances of that nature, see Jo. Chr. Kocheri Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ, and Salig's History of the Council of Trent, in German.

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The principal heads of the Roman Catholic religion.

XXIV. Notwithstanding all this, such as are desirous of forming some notion of the religion of Rome, will do well to consult the decrees of the council of Trent, together with the compendious confession of faith, which was drawn up by the order of Pius IV. Those, however, who expect to derive, from these sources, a clear, complete, and perfect knowlege of the Romish faith, will be greatly disappointed. To evince the truth of this assertion, it might be observed, as has been already hinted, that both in the decrees of Trent, and in this papal confession, many things are expressed, *designedly*, in a vague and ambiguous manner, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that then reigned in the church. Another singular circumstance might also be added, that several tenets are omitted in both, which no Roman catholic is allowed to deny, or even to call in question. But, waving both these considerations, let it only be observed, that in these decrees and in this confession several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church, and in the public practice of its members[k]. Hence we may conclude, that the justest notion of the doctrine of Rome is not to be derived so much from the *terms* used in the decrees of that council, as from the *real signification* of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions, and observances, that prevail in the Romish church. Add, to all this,

[k] This is true, in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of Trent, relating to the doctrine of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relics. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen, so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philosophical sense of that word; for, in the scriptural sense, they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in various parts of the sacred writings. Bnt this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman-catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both senses of that word.

CENT. XVI. another consideration, which is, that, in the bulls issued out from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines, which were obscurely proposed in the council of Trent, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this Clement XI. gave a notorious example, in the famous bull called Unigenitus, which was an enterprise as audacious as it proved unsuccessful.

The state of exegetic theology, or scripture-knowlege.

XXV. As soon as the popes perceived the remarkable detriment which their authority had suffered from the accurate interpretations of the Scriptures that had been given by the learned, and from the perusal of these divine oracles, which were now very frequently consulted by the people, they left no methods unemployed that might discourage the culture of this most important branch of sacred erudition. While the tide of resentment ran high, they forgot themselves in the most unaccountable manner. They permitted their champions to indulge themselves openly in reflexions injurious to the dignity of the sacred writings, and by an excess of blasphemy almost incredible (if the passions of men did not render them capable of the greatest enormities) to declare publicly, that the edicts of the pontiffs, and the records of oral tradition, were superior, in point of authority, to the express language of the Scriptures. As it was impossible, however, to bring the sacred writings wholly into disrepute, they took the most effectual methods in their power to render them obscure and useless. For this purpose the ancient Latin translation of the Bible, commonly called the Vulgate, though it abounds with innumerable gross errors, and, in a great number of places, exhibits the most shocking barbarity of style, and the most impenetrable obscurity with respect to the sense of the inspired writers, was declared, by a solemn decree of the council of Trent, an authentic, i. e. a faithful, accurate,

and perfect[l] translation, and was consequently recommended as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure. It was easy to foresee that such a declaration was calculated only to keep the people in ignorance, and to veil from their understandings the true meaning of the sacred writings. In the same council, farther steps were taken to execute, with success, the designs of Rome. A severe and intolerable law was enacted, with respect to all interpreters and expositors of the Scriptures, by which they were forbidden to explain the sense of these divine books, in matters relating to faith and practice, in such a manner as to make them speak a different language from that of the church and the ancient doctors[m]. The same law farther declared, that the church alone (i. e. its ruler) had the right of determining the true meaning and signification of Scripture. To fill up the measure of these tyrannical and iniquitous pro- CENT. XVI.

☞ [l] If we consult the canons of the council of Trent we shall find that the word *authentic* is there explained in terms less positive and offensive than those used by Dr. Mosheim. Nor is it strictly true, that the Vulgate was declared by this council to be a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure, since, as we learn from Fra. Paolo, it was determined that this version should be corrected, and a new edition of it published by persons appointed for that purpose *. There was, indeed, something highly ridiculous in the proceedings of the council in relation to this point; for, if the natural order of things had been observed, the revisal and correction of the Vulgate would have preceded the pompous approbation with which the council honored, and, as it were, consecrated that ancient version. For how, with any shadow of good sense, could the assembled fathers set the seal of their approbation to a work which they acknowleged to stand in need of correction, and that before they knew whether or not the correction would answer their views, and merit their approbation?

☞ [m] It is remarkable, that this prohibition extends even to such interpretations as were not designed for public view: "Etiamsi hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in "lucem edendæ forent." Sessio 4ta, tit. cap. ii.

* See Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, book ii. part liii. and Dr. Courayer's French translation of this History, vol. i. p. 284, note 29.

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ceedings, the church persisted obstinately in affirming, though not always with the same impudence and plainness of speech, that the Scriptures were not composed for the use of the multitude, but only for that of their spiritual teachers; and, in consequence, ordered these divine records to be taken from the people in all places where it was allowed to execute its imperious commands[n].

Commentators and expositors of the holy Scriptures.

XXVI. These circumstances had a visible influence upon the spirit and productions of the commentators and expositors of Scripture, which the example of Luther and his followers had rendered, through emulation, extremely numerous. The popish doctors, who vied with the protestants in this branch of sacred erudition, were insipid, timorous, servilely attached to the glory and interests of the court of Rome, and betrayed, in their explications, all the marks of slavish dependence and constraint. They seem to have been in constant apprehension that some expressions might escape from their pens that savored of opinions different from what were commonly received; they appeal every moment to the declarations and authority of the holy *fathers*, as they usually style them; nor do they appear to have so much consulted the real doctrines taught by the sacred writers, as the language and sentiments which the church of Rome has taken the liberty to put into their mouths. Several of these commentators rack their imaginations in order to force out of each passage of Scripture the four kinds of significations, called *Literal*, *Allegorical*, *Topological*, and *Anagogical*, which ignorance and superstition had first invented, and afterwards held so sacred, in the explication of the inspired writings. Nor was their attachment to this manner of interpretation unskilfully managed,

[n] The papal emissaries were not suffered to execute this despotic order in all countries that acknowleged the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. The French and some other nations have the Bible in their mother-tongue, in which they peruse it, though much against the will of the pope's creatures.

since it enabled them to make the sacred writers speak the language that was favorable to the views of the church, and to draw out of the Bible, with the help of a little subtilty, whatever doctrine they wished to impose upon the credulity of the multitude. CENT. XVI.

It must, however, be acknowleged, that, beside these miserable commentators whose efforts dishonor the church, there were some in its communion, who had wisdom enough to despise such senseless methods of interpretation, and who, avoiding all mysterious significations and fancies, followed the plain, natural, and literal sense of the expressions used in the holy Scriptures. In this class the most eminent were, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who translated into Latin, with an elegant and faithful simplicity, the books of the New Testament, and explained them with judgement in a paraphrase which is deservedly esteemed; cardinal Caietan, who disputed with Luther at Augsburg, and who gave a brief, but judicious exposition of almost all the books of the Old and New Testament; Francis Titelman, Isidorus Clarius, and John Maldonat, beside Benedict Justinian, who acquired no mean reputation by his commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. To these may be added Gagny, D'Espence, and other expositors[o]. But these eminent men, whose example was so adapted to excite emulation, had very few followers; and, in a short time, their influence was gone, and their labors were forgotten; for, toward the conclusion of this century, Edmund Richer, that strenuous opposer of the encroachments made by the pontiffs on the liberties of the Gallican church, was the only doctor in the university of Paris who followed the literal sense and the plain and natural signification of the words of Scripture, while all the other commentators and interpreters, imitating the pernicious example of several ancient expositors, were always racking their brains for mysterious and sublime significations,

[o] See Simon's Hist. Critique du Vieux et du Nouv. Testament.

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where none such either were, or could be, designed by the sacred writers [p].

The state of didactic theology.

XXVII. The seminaries of learning were filled, before the Reformation, with that subtile kind of theological doctors, commonly known under the denomination of *schoolmen;* so that even at Paris, which was considered as the principal seat of sacred erudition, no doctors were to be found who were capable of disputing with the protestant divines in the method they generally pursued, which was that of proving the doctrines they maintained by arguments drawn from the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers. This uncommon scarcity of didactic and scriptural divines produced much confusion and perplexity, on many occasions, even in the council of Trent, where the scholastic doctors fatigued some, and almost turned the heads of others, by examining and explaining the doctrines that were there proposed, according to the intricate and ambiguous rules of their captious philosophy. Hence it became absolutely necessary to reform the methods of proceeding in theological disquisitions, and to restore to its former credit that practice which drew the truths of religion more from the dictates of the sacred writings, and from the sentiments of the ancient doctors, than from the uncertain suggestions of human reason, and the ingenious conjectures of philosophy [q]. It was, how-

[p] See Baillet's Vie d'Edmund Richer, p. 9, 10.

[q] See Du-Boulay's account of the reformation of the theological faculty at Paris, in his Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. vi. In this reform the bachelors of divinity, called *Sententiarii* and *Biblici*, are particularly distinguished; and (what is extremely remarkable) the Augustine monks, who were Luther's fraternity, are ordered to furnish the college of divinity once a year with a scriptural bachelor (Baccalaureum Biblicum præsentare); whence we may conclude, that the monks of the Augustine order were much more conversant in the study of the Scriptures than any of the other monastic societies which then existed. But this academical law deserves to be quoted here at length, so much the more, as Du-Boulay's History is in few hands. It is as follows: "Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum præsentabunt, secundum statutum fol. 21, quod sequitur: Quilibet ordo Mendicantium et Collegium S. Bernardi habeant quolibet

ever, impossible to deprive entirely the scholastic divines of the ascendancy which they had acquired in the seminaries of learning, and had so long maintained almost without opposition; for, after having been threatened with a diminution of their authority, they seemed to resume new vigor from the time that the Jesuits adopted their philosophy, and made use of their subtile dialectic, as a more effectual armour against the attacks of the heretics, than either the language of Scripture, or the authority of the fathers. And, indeed, the scholastic jargon was every way proper to answer the purposes of a set of men, who found it necessary to puzzle and perplex, where they could neither refute with perspicuity, nor prove with evidence. Thus they artfully concealed their defeat, and retreated, in the dazzled eyes of the multitude, with the appearance of victory[r]. CENT. XVI.

The Mystics lost almost all their credit in the church of Rome after the Reformation, partly on account of the favorable reception they found among the protestants, and partly in consequence of their pacific system, which, giving them an aversion to controversy in general, rendered them little disposed to defend the papal cause against its numerous and formidable adversaries. These enthusiasts, however, were, in some measure, tolerated, and allowed to indulge themselves in their philosophical speculations, on certain conditions, which obliged them to abstain

anno Biblicum qui legat ordinarie, alioqui priventur pro illo anno Baccalaureo sententiario." It appears by this law, that each mendicant order was, by a decree of the theological faculty, obliged to furnish, yearly, a scriptural bachelor (such was Luther); and yet we see, that, in the reformation already mentioned, this obligation is imposed upon none but the Augustine monks. We may therefore presume that the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the other mendicants, had entirely neglected the study of the Scriptures, and consequently had among them no scriptural bachelors; and that the Augustine monks alone were in a condition to satisfy the demands of the theological faculty.

[r] The translator has added the two last sentences of this paragraph, to illustrate more fully the sense of the author.

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The state of morality and practical religion.

XXVIII. There was no successful attempt made, in this century, to correct or improve the practical or moral system of doctrine that was followed in the church of Rome; nor, indeed, could any one make such an attempt without drawing upon himself the displeasure, and perhaps the fury, of the papal hierarchy; for, in reality, such a project of reformation seemed in no wise conducive to the *interests* of the church, as these interests were understood by its ambitious and rapacious rulers; and it is undoubtedly certain, that many doctrines and regulations, on which the power, opulence, and grandeur of that church essentially depended, would have run the risque of falling into discredit and contempt, if the pure and rational system of morality, contained in the Gospel, had been exhibited in its native beauty and simplicity, to the view and perusal of all Christians without distinction. Little or no zeal was therefore exerted in amending or improving the doctrines that immediately relate to practice. On the contrary, many persons of eminent piety and integrity, in the communion of Rome, have grievously complained (with what justice shall be shewn in its proper place [s]), that, as soon as the Jesuits had gained an ascendancy in the courts of princes, and in the schools of learning, the cause of virtue began visibly to decline. It has been alleged, more particularly, that this artful order employed all the force of subtile distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and, in process of time, opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness and iniquity, by the loose and dissolute rules of conduct which they propagated as far as their influence extended. This poisonous doctrine

[s] See cent. xvii. sect. ii. part i. chap. i. sect. xxxiv.

spread, indeed, its contagion, in a latent manner, during the sixteenth century; but, in the following age, its abettors ventured to expose some specimens of its turpitude to public view, and thus gave occasion to great commotions in several parts of Europe. CENT. XVI.

All the moral writers of the church, in this century, may be distinguished into three classes, the *Schoolmen*, the *Dogmatists* [t], and the *Mystics*. The first explained, or rather obscured, the virtues and duties of the Christian life, by knotty distinctions and unintelligible forms of speech, and buried them under an enormous load of arguments and demonstrations: the second illustrated them from the declarations of Scripture and the opinions of the ancient doctors; while the third placed the whole of morality in the tranquillity of a mind withdrawn from all sensible objects, and habitually employed in the contemplation of the divine nature.

XXIX. The number of combatants brought by the pontiffs into the field of controversy, during this century, was prodigious, and their glaring defects are abundantly known. It may be said, with truth, of the greater part of them, that, like many warriors of another class, they generally lost sight of all considerations, except those of victory and plunder. The disputants, whom the order of Jesuits sent forth in great number against the adversaries of the church of Rome, surpassed all the rest in subtilty, impudence, and invective. The principal leader and champion of the polemic tribe was Robert Bellarmine, a Jesuit, and a member of the college of cardinals, who treated, in several bulky volumes, of all the controversies that subsisted between the protestants and the church of Rome, and whose merit as a writer consisted, principally, in clearness of style, and a certain copiousness of argument, which shewed a The state of religious controversy.

☞ [t] The reader will easily perceive, by the short account of these three classes, given by Dr. Mosheim, that the word *Dogmatist* must not be taken in that magisterial sense which it bears in modern language.

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rich and fruitful imagination. This eminent defender of the church of Rome arose about the conclusion of this century, and, on his first appearance, all the force and attacks of the most illustrious protestant doctors were turned against him alone. His candor and plain-dealing exposed him, however, to the censures of several divines of his own communion; for he collected, with diligence, the reasons and objections of his adversaries, and proposed them, for the most part, in their full force, with integrity and exactness. Had he been less remarkable for his fidelity and industry; had he taken care to select the weakest arguments of his antagonists, and to render them still weaker, by proposing them in an imperfect and unfaithful light, his fame would have been much greater among the friends of Rome than it actually is [u].

The controversies that divide the church of Rome.

XXX. If we turn our view to the internal state of the church of Rome, and consider the respective sentiments, opinions, and manners of its different members, we shall find that, notwithstanding its boasted unity of faith, and its ostentatious pretensions to harmony and concord, it was, in the sixteenth century, and is, at this day, divided and distracted with dissensions and contests of various kinds. The Franciscans and the Dominicans contend with vehemence about several points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists are at eternal war. The bishops have never ceased disputing with the pope (and with the congregations that he has instituted to maintain his pretensions) upon the origin and precise limits of his authority and jurisdiction. The French and Flemings, with the inhabitants of other countries, openly oppose the pontiff on many occasions, and refuse to acknowlege his supreme and unlimited dominion in the church; while, on the other hand, he still continues to encroach upon their privileges,

[u] See Mayer's Ecloga de fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsis Pontificiis dubiâ, published at Amsterdam in 1698.

sometimes with violence and resolution, when he can do so with impunity, at other times with circumspection and prudence, when vigorous measures appear dangerous or unnecessary. The Jesuits, who, on their first appearance, had formed the project of diminishing the credit and influence of all the other religious orders, used their warmest endeavours to share with the Benedictine and other monasteries, which were richly endowed, a part of their opulence; and their endeavours were crowned with success. Thus they drew upon their society the indignation and vengeance of the other religious communities, and armed against it the monks of every other denomination; and, in a more especial manner, the Benedictines and Dominicans, who surpassed all its enemies in the keenness and bitterness of their resentment. The rage of the Benedictines is animated by reflecting on the possessions of which they have been deprived, while the Dominicans contend for the honor of their order, the privileges annexed to it, and the religious tenets by which it is distinguished. Nor are the theological colleges and seminaries of learning more exempt from the flame of controversy than the clerical and monastic orders: on the contrary, debates concerning almost all the doctrines of Christianity are multiplied in them, and conducted with little moderation. It is true, indeed, that all these contests are tempered and managed, by the prudence and authority of the pontiffs, in such a manner as to prevent their being carried to an excessive height, to a length that might prove fatal to the church, by destroying that phantom of external unity which is the source of its consistence as an ecclesiastical body: I say *tempered* and *managed;* for, to heal entirely these divisions, and calm these animosities, however it may be judged an undertaking worthy of one who calls himself the Vicar of Christ, is, nevertheless, a work beyond his power, and contrary to his intention.

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The more momentous controversies that have divided the church of Rome.

XXXI. Beside these debates of inferior moment, which made only a slight breach in the tranquillity and union of the Romish church, there arose, after the period in which the council of Trent was assembled, controversies of much greater importance, which deservedly attracted the attention of Christians of all denominations. These controversies were set on foot by the Jesuits, and from small beginnings have increased gradually, and gathered strength; so that the flame they produced has been transmitted even to our times, and continues, at this very day, to divide the members of the church in a manner that does not a little endanger its stability. While the pontiffs foment, perhaps, instead of endeavouring to extinguish, the less momentous disputes mentioned above, they observe a different conduct with respect to those now under consideration. The most zealous efforts of artifice and authority are constantly employed to calm the contending parties (since it appears impossible to unite and reconcile them), and to diminish the violence of commotion, which they can scarcely ever hope entirely to suppress. All their exertions, however, have hitherto been ineffectual. They have not been able to calm the agitation and vehemence with which these debates are carried on, or to inspire any sentiments of moderation and mutual forbearance into minds, which are less animated by the love of truth, than by the spirit of faction.

Two general classes of doctors in the church of Rome.

XXXII. Whoever will look with attention and impartiality into these controversies may easily perceive that there are two parties in the Romish church, whose notions with respect both to doctrine and discipline are extremely different. The Jesuits, considered as a body [w], maintain, with the greatest zeal

[w] The Jesuits are here taken in the general and collective sense of that denomination, because there are several individuals of that order, whose sentiments differ from those which generally prevail in their community.

and obstinacy, the ancient system of doctrine and manners, which pervaded the church before the rise of Luther, and which, though absurd and ill-digested, the zealots have constantly considered as highly favorable to the views of Rome, and the grandeur of its pontiffs. These sagacious ecclesiastics, whose peculiar office it is to watch for the security and defence of the papal throne, are fully persuaded that the authority of the pontiffs, the opulence, pomp, and grandeur of the clergy, depend entirely upon the preservation of the ancient forms of doctrine; and that every project which tends either to remove these forms, or even to correct them, must be, in the highest degree, detrimental to what they call the interests of the church, and gradually bring on its ruin. On the other hand, there are within the pale of the Romish church, especially since the dawn of the reformation, many pious and well-meaning men, whose eyes have been opened, by the perusal of the inspired and primitive writers, upon the corruptions and defects of the received forms of doctrine and discipline. Comparing the dictates of primitive Christianity with the vulgar system of popery, they have found the latter full of enormities, and have always been desirous of a reform (though indeed a partial one, according to their particular fancies), that thus the church may be purified from those unhappy abuses which have given rise to such mischievous divisions, and still draw upon it the censures and reproaches of the heretics.

The main controversies that divide the church of Rome, reduced to six heads.

From these opposite ways of thinking, arose naturally the warmest contentions and debates, between the Jesuits and many doctors of the church. These debates may be reduced under the six following heads.

First subject of debate.

The first subject of debate concerns the limits and extent of the papal power and jurisdiction. The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependents, maintain, that the pontiff is infallible; that he is the only visible source of that universal

CENT. XVI. and unlimited power which Christ has granted to the church; that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested; that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils that compose it; that he alone is the supreme legislator of that sacred community, and that it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey his edicts and commands. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far from being universally adopted; for other members of the church hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error; that his authority is inferior to that of a general council; that he is bound to obey the commands of the church, and its laws, as they are enacted in the councils that represent it; that these councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted; and that, in consequence of these principles, the bishops and inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the pontiff, but from Christ himself.

Second subject of debate.

XXXIII. The extent and prerogatives of the church form the second subject of debate. The Jesuits and their adherents stretch out its borders far and wide. They not only comprehend, within its large circuit, many who live separate from the communion of Rome[x], but even extend the inheritance of eternal salvation to nations that have not the least knowlege of the Christian religion, or of its divine Author, and consider as true members of the church open transgressors, who outwardly profess its doctrines. But the adversaries of the Jesuits reduce within narrower limits the kingdom of Christ, and not

☞ [x] They were accused at Spoleto, in 1653, of having maintained, in their public instructions, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See Le Clerc, Biblioth. Univers. et Historique, tom. xiv.

only exclude from all hope of salvation those who are not within the pale of the church of Rome, but also those who, though they live within its external communion, yet dishonor their profession by a vicious and profligate course of life. The Jesuits moreover (not to mention differences of less moment) assert, that the church can never pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either relating to matters of fact, or points of doctrine [y]; while the adverse party declare, that, in judging of matters of fact, it is not secured against all possibility of erring. CENT. XVI.

XXXIV. In the third class of controversies, that divide the church, are comprehended the debates relating to the nature, efficacy, and necessity of divine grace, together with those which concern original sin, the natural power of man to obey the laws of God, and the nature and foundation of those eternal decrees that have for their object the salvation of men. The Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jansenists, with several other doctors of the church, adopt the following propositions: that the impulse of divine grace cannot be opposed or resisted; that there are no remains of purity or goodness in human nature since its fall; that the eternal decrees of God, relating to the salvation of men, are neither founded upon, nor attended with, any condition whatsoever; that God wills the salvation of all mankind: and they hold several other tenets connected with these. The Jesuits maintain, on the contrary, that the natural dominion of sin in the human mind, and the The third subject of debate.

☞ [y] This distinction, with respect to the objects of infallibility, chiefly arose from the following historical circumstance. Pope Innocent X. condemned five propositions, drawn from the famous book of Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*; and this condemnation occasioned the two following questions: 1st, Whether these propositions were erroneous? This was the question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, respecting doctrine. 2d, Whether these propositions were really taught by Jansenius? This was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to the matter of fact. The church was supposed, by some, infallible only in deciding questions of the former kind.

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hidden corruption it has produced in our internal frame, are less general and dreadful than they are represented by the doctors now mentioned; that human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good; that the succours of grace are administered to all mankind in a measure sufficient to lead them to eternal life and salvation; that the operations of grace offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and therefore may be resisted; and that God from all eternity has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments, as the portion of men in a future world, not by an absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional decree, but in consequence of that divine and unlimited prescience, by which he foresaw the actions, merit, and character, of every individual.

The fourth subject of debate.

XXXV. The fourth head, in this division of the controversies that destroy the pretended unity of the church, contains various subjects of debate, relative to doctrines of morality and rules of practice, which it would be both tedious and foreign from our purpose to enumerate in a circumstantial manner, though it may not be improper to touch lightly the first principles of this endless controversy [z].

[z] No author has given a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objections that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches which have been cast on their rules of life; and no one at the same time has defended their cause with more art and dexterity than the eloquent and ingenious Gabriel Daniel (a famous member of their order), in a piece, entitled, Entretiens de Cleandre et d'Eudoxe. This dialogue was intended as an answer to the celebrated Provincial Letters of Pascal, which did more real prejudice to the society of the Jesuits than many would imagine, and exposed their loose and perfidious system of morals with the greatest fidelity and perspicuity, embellished by the most exquisite strokes of humor and irony. Father Daniel, in the piece above-mentioned, treats with great acuteness the famous doctrine of probability, the method of directing our intentions, equivocation and mental reservation, sins of ignorance and oblivion; and it must be acknowleged, that, if the cause and pretensions of the Jesuits were susceptible of defence or plausibility, they have found in this writer an able and dexterous champion.

The Jesuits and their followers have inculcated a very strange doctrine with respect to the motives that determine the moral conduct and actions of men. They represent it as a matter of perfect indifference from what motives men obey the laws of God, provided that these laws be really obeyed; and maintain, that the service of those who obey from the fear of punishment is as agreeable to the Deity, as are those actions which proceed from a principle of love to him and to his laws. This decision excites the horror of the greatest part of the doctors of the Roman church, who affirm, that no acts of obedience, when they do not proceed from the love of God, can be acceptable to that pure and holy Being. Nor is the doctrine of the Jesuits only chargeable with the corrupt tenets already mentioned. They maintain farther, that a man never sins, properly speaking, but when he transgresses a divine law that is fully known to him, which is present to his mind while he acts, and of which he understands the true meaning and intent. And they hence conclude, that, in strict justice, the conduct of that transgressor cannot be looked upon as criminal, who is either ignorant of the law, or is in doubt about its true signification, or loses sight of it, through forgetfulness, at the time that he violates it. From these propositions they deduce the famous doctrines of probability and philosophical sin, which have cast an eternal reproach upon the schools of the Jesuits[a]. Their adversaries

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[a] The doctrine of probability consists in this: 'That an opinion or precept may be followed with a good conscience, when it is inculcated by four, or three, or two, or even by one doctor of considerable reputation, even though it be contrary to the judgement of the person who follows it, and even of him that recommends it.' This doctrine rendered the Jesuits capable of accommodating themselves to all the different passions of men, and to persons of all tempers and characters, from the most austere to the most licentious. Philosophical sin (according to the Jesuits' doctrine) is an action, or course of actions, repugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the Deity. See a more particular account of these two odious doctrines in the following part of this work, cent. xvii. sect. ii.

CENT. XVI. behold these pernicious tenets with the utmost abhorrence, and assert that neither ignorance, nor forgetfulness of the law, nor the doubts that may be entertained with respect to its signification, will be admitted as sufficient to justify transgressors before the tribunal of God. This contest, about the main and fundamental points of morality, has given rise to a great variety of debates concerning the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves; and has produced two sects of moral teachers, whose animosities and divisions have miserably rent the Romish church in all parts of the world, and involved it in the greatest perplexities.

The fifth subject of debate.

XXXVI. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of penance and the eucharist, forms the fifth subject of controversy. The Jesuits and many other doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the sacraments are produced by their intrinsic virtue and immediate operation [b] upon the mind at the time when they are administered, and that consequently it requires little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, and a heart animated with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And hence it is, that, according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give

part i. chap. i. sect. xxxv. and in the author's and translator's notes.

[b] This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say, that the sacraments produce their effect *opere operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain that the sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul (independently of its previous preparation or propensities) a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowlege, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, are necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a mortal sin can resist. See Dr. Courayer's Translation of Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.

immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of the sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the sacraments, before they grant their requests; since, in their sense of things, the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love which 'casteth out fear.' Hence arose that famous dispute concerning a frequent approach to the holy communion, which was carried on with such warmth in the last (*the seventeenth*) century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnauld [c] at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit Pichon, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French bishops [d]. The frequent celebration of the Lord's supper is one of the main duties, which the Jesuits recommend with peculiar earnestness to all who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity; and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious doctors of the Romish communion, who reject the intrinsic virtue and efficient operation which are attributed to the sacraments, and wisely maintain, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper can be profitable to those only whose minds are prepared, by faith,

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[c] Arnauld published, on this occasion, his famous book concerning the practice of communicating frequently. The French title is, 'Traité de la frequente Communion.'

[d] See Journal Universel, tom. xiii. xv. xvi.

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repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service.

The sixth subject of debate.

XXXVII. The sixth (or last) controversy turns upon the proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion. Some of the Romish doctors, who have the progress of religion truly at heart, deem it expedient and even necessary to sow the seeds of divine truth in the mind, in the tender and flexible state of infancy, when it is most susceptive of good impressions, and to give it, by degrees, according to the measure of its capacity, a full and accurate knowlege of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others, who have a greater zeal for the interests of the church than the improvement of its members, recommend a devout ignorance to such as submit to their direction, and think a Christian sufficiently instructed when he has learned to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the church. The former are of opinion, that nothing can be so profitable and instructive to Christians as the study of the Scriptures, and consequently judge it highly expedient that they should be translated into the vulgar tongue of each country. The latter exclude the people from the satisfaction of consulting the sacred oracles of truth, and look upon all vernacular translations of the Bible as dangerous, and even of a pernicious tendency. They accordingly maintain, that it ought only to be published in a learned language to prevent its instructions from becoming familiar to the multitude. The former compose pious and instructive books to nourish a spirit of devotion in the minds of Christians, to enlighten their ignorance, and dispel their errors; they illustrate and explain the public prayers and the solemn acts of religion in the language of the people, and exhort all, who attend to their instructions, to peruse constantly these pious productions, in order to improve their knowlege, purify their affections, and learn the method of worshiping the Deity in a rational and acceptable manner. All this, however, is highly dis-

pleasing to the latter kind of doctors, who are always apprehensive, that the blind obedience and implicit submission of the people will diminish in proportion as their views are enlarged, and their knowlege increased [e]. CENT. XVI.

XXXVIII. All the controversies that have been here mentioned did not break out at the same time. The disputes concerning divine grace, the natural power of man to perform good actions, original sin, and predestination, which have been ranged under the third class, were publicly carried on in the century of which we are now writing. The others were conducted with more secresy and reserve, and did not The disputes carried on with Baius concerning grace, &c.

[e] The account here given of the more momentous controversies that divide the church of Rome, may be confirmed, illustrated and enlarged, by consulting a multitude of books published in the last and present centuries, especially in France and Flanders, by Jansenists, Dominicans, Jesuits, and others. All the productions, in which the doctrine and precepts of the Jesuits, and the other creatures of the pontiff, are opposed and refuted, are enumerated by Dominic Colonia, a French Jesuit, in a work published in 1735, under the following title: "Bibliotheque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux livres Jansenistes, ou suspects de Jansenisme, avec des notes critiques." This writer is led into many absurdities by his extravagant attachment to the pope, and to the cause and tenets of his order. His book, however, is of use in pointing out the various controversies that perplex and divide the church. It was condemned by pope Benedict XIV. but was republished in a new form, with some change in the title, and a great enlargement of its contents. This new edition appeared at Antwerp in 1752, under the following title: "Dictionaire des livres Jansenistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansenisme, à Anvers, chez J. B. Verdussen." And it must be acknowleged, that it is extremely useful, in shewing the intestine divisions of the church, the particular contests that divide its doctors, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous productions that relate to the six heads of controversy here mentioned. It must be observed, at the same time, that this work abounds with the most malignant invectives against many persons of eminent learning and piety, and with the most notorious instances of partiality and injustice *.

☞ * See a particular account of this learned and scandalous work in the "Bibliotheque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts," printed at the Hague.

CENT. XVI. come forth to public view before the following age. Nor will this appear at all surprising to those who consider that the controversies concerning grace and free-will, which had been set in motion by Luther, were neither accurately examined, nor peremptorily decided in the church of Rome, but were rather artfully suspended and hushed into silence. The sentiments of Luther were indeed condemned; but no fixed and perspicuous rule of faith, with respect to these disputed points, was substituted in their place. The decisions of St. Augustin were solemnly approved; but the points of dissimilitude, between these decisions and the sentiments of Luther, were never clearly explained. This fatal controversy originated in the zeal of Michael Baius, a doctor in the university of Louvain, equally remarkable on account of the warmth of his piety and the extent of his learning. This eminent divine, like the other followers of Augustin, had an invincible aversion to that contentious, subtile, and intricate manner of teaching theology, which had long prevailed in the schools; and under the auspicious name of that famous prelate, who was his admired guide, he had the courage or temerity to condemn and censure, in an open and public manner, the tenets commonly received in the church, in relation to the natural powers of man and the merit of good works. This bold step drew upon Baius the indignation of some of his academical colleagues, and the heavy censures of several Franciscan monks. Whether the Jesuits immediately joined in this opposition, and may be reckoned among the first accusers of Baius, is a point unknown, or uncertain; but it is unquestionably evident, that, even at the rise of this controversy, they abhorred the principal tenets of Baius, which he had taken from Augustin, and adopted as his own. In 1567, this doctor was accused at the court of Rome; and seventy-six propositions, drawn from his writings, were condemned by Pius V. in a circular letter expressly composed for that purpose. This condemnation, however, was issued in an

artful and insidious manner, without any mention of the name of the author; for the fatal consequences that had arisen from the rash and inconsiderate measures employed by the court of Rome against Luther, were too fresh in the remembrance of the prudent pontiff to permit his falling into new blunders of the same nature. The thunder of excommunication was therefore suppressed by the dictates of prudence, and the person and functions of Baius were spared, while his tenets were censured. About thirteen years after this transaction, Gregory XIII. complied so far with the importunate solicitations of a Jesuit, named Francis Tolet, as to reinforce the sentence of Pius V. by a new condemnation of the opinions of the Flemish doctor. Baius submitted to this new sentence, either from an apprehension that it would be followed by more severe proceedings in case of resistance, or, which is more probable, on account of the ambiguity of the papal edict, and the vague and confused manner in which the obnoxious propositions were therein expressed. But his example, in this respect, was not followed by the other doctors who had formed their theological system upon that of Augustin [f]; and, even at this day, many divines of the Romish communion, and particularly the Jansenists, declare openly that Baius was unjustly treated, and that the two edicts of Pius and Gregory are absolutely destitute of all authority, and have never been received as laws of the church [g]. CENT. XVI.

[f] See, for an account of the disputes relating to Baius, the works of that author, published at Cologne in 1696, particularly the second part, or appendix, entitled, "Baiana, seu scripta, quæ controversias spectant occasione Sententiarum Baii exortas." See also Bayle's Dict., in which there is an ample and circumstantial account of these disputes;—Du-Pin, Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, tom. xvi.—Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iii.

[g] This is demonstrated fully by an anonymous writer in a piece entitled, "Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, ou l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise," published at Utrecht in 1737.

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Contest with the Jesuits, Lessius and Hamelius.

XXXIX. Be that as it may, it is at least certain, that the doctrine of Augustin, with respect to the nature and operations of divine grace, lost none of its credit in consequence of these edicts, but was embraced and propagated, with the same zeal as formerly, throughout all the Belgic provinces, and more especially in the two flourishing universities of Louvain and Douay. This appeared very soon after, when two Jesuits, named Lessius and Hamelius, ventured to represent the doctrine of predestination in a manner different from that in which it appears in the writings of Augustin; for the sentiments of these Jesuits were publicly condemned by the doctors of Louvain in 1587, and by those of Douay in the following year. The bishops of the Low Countries were disposed to follow the example of these two universities, and had already deliberated about assembling a provincial council for this purpose, when pope Sixtus V. suspended the proceedings by the interposition of his authority, and declared, that the cognisance and decision of religious controversies belonged only to the vicar of Christ, residing at Rome. But this politic vicar, whose sagacity, prudence, and knowlege of men and things, never failed him in transactions of this nature, wisely avoided making use of the privilege he claimed with such confidence, that he might not inflame the divisions and animosities which already subsisted. And, accordingly, in 1588, this contest was finished, and the storm allayed in such a manner, that the contending parties were left in the quiet possession of their respective opinions, and solemnly prohibited from disputing, either in public or in private, upon the intricate points that had excited their divisions. Had the succeeding pontiffs, instead of assuming the character of judges in this ambiguous and difficult controversy, imitated the prudence of Sixtus, and imposed silence on the litigious doctors, who renewed afterwards the debates concerning divine grace, the tranquillity and unity of the church would not have been interrupted

by such violent divisions as rage at present in its bosom [h]. CENT. XVI.

The controversies with the Molinists.

XL. The church had scarcely perceived the fruits of that calm, which the prudence of Sixtus had restored, by suppressing, instead of deciding the late controversies, when new commotions, of the same nature, but of a much more terrible aspect, arose to disturb its tranquillity. These were occasioned by the Jesuit Molina [i], professor of divinity in the university of Ebora in Portugal, who, in 1588, published a book to shew that the operations of divine grace were entirely consistent with the freedom of human will [k], and who introduced a new kind of hypothesis, to remove the difficulties attending the doctrines of predestination and liberty, and to reconcile the jarring opinions of Augustinians, Thomists, Semi-Pelagians, and other contentious divines [l]. This attempt of the

[h] See Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay, par M. Gery. The famous Pasquier Quesnel was the author of this apology, if we may give credit to the writer of a book entitled, "Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise," tom. i. See an account of this controversy in the "Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controversies dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace." This curious piece is to be found in the fourteenth tome of Le Clerc's Bibliotheque Universelle Historique.

[i] From the name of this Spanish doctor proceeded the well-known denomination of Molinists, by which those Roman catholics are distinguished, who seem to incline to the doctrines of grace and free-will, maintained in opposition to those of Augustine. Many, however, who differ widely from the sentiments of Molina, are unjustly ranked in the class of Molinists.

[k] The title of this famous book is as follows: "Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratiæ donis, divinâ Præscientiâ, Providentiâ, Prædestinatione, et Reprobatione, Auctore Lud. Molina." This book was first published at Lisbon, in 1588; afterwards, with additions, at Antwerp, Lyons, Venice, and other places, in 1595. A third edition, still farther augmented, appeared at Antwerp in 1609.

[l] Molina affirmed, that the decree of predestination to eternal glory was founded upon a previous knowlege and consideration of the merits of the elect; that the grace, from whose operation these merits are derived, is not efficacious by its own intrinsic power only, but also by the consent of our own will, and because it is administered in those circumstances in which

CENT. XVI. subtile Spanish doctor was so offensive to the Dominicans, who followed St. Thomas as their theological guide, that they sounded throughout Spain and Portugal the alarm of heresy, and accused the Jesuits of endeavouring to renew the errors of Pelagius. This alarm was followed by great commotions, and all things seemed to prognosticate a general flame, when Clement VIII., in 1594, imposed silence on the contending parties, promising that he himself would examine with care and diligence every thing relating to this new debate, in order to decide it in such a manner as might tend to promote the cause of truth, and the peace of the church.

The congregation of Aids.

XLI. The pontiff was persuaded that these gentle remedies would soon remove the disease, and that, through length of time, these heats and animosities would undoubtedly subside. But the event was far from being answerable to such pleasing hopes. The Dominicans, who had long fostered a deep-rooted and invincible hatred against the Jesuits, having now an opportunity of venting their indignation, exhausted their furious zeal against the doctrine of Molina, notwithstanding the pacific injunctions of the papal edict. They incessantly fatigued Philip II. of Spain, and pope Clement VIII., with their importunate clamors, until at length the latter found himself under a necessity of assembling at Rome a sort of council for the decision of this controversy. And thus commenced, about the beginning of the year 1598, those famous deliberations concerning the contests of the Jesuits and Dominicans, which took place in what was called the congregation *de auxiliis*, or of aids. This congregation was so denominated on account of

the Deity, by that branch of his knowlege which is called *Scientia Media*, foresees that it will be efficacious. The kind of prescience denominated in the schools *Scientia Media*, is that fore-knowlege of future contingencies, that arises from an acquaintance with the nature and faculties of rational beings, the circumstances in which they shall be placed, the objects that shall be presented to them, and the influence that these circumstances and objects must have on their actions.

the principal point in debate, which was the efficacy of the aids and succours of divine grace; and its consultations were directed by Louis Madrusi, bishop of Trent, and one of the college of cardinals, who sat as president in this assembly, which was composed besides of three bishops and seven divines chosen out of so many different orders. The remaining part of this century was wholly employed by these spiritual judges in hearing and weighing the arguments alleged in favor of their respective opinions by the contending parties [m]. The Dominicans maintained, with the greatest obstinacy, the doctrine of their patron St. Thomas, as alone conformable to truth. The Jesuits, on the other hand, though they did not adopt the religious tenets of Molina, thought the honor of their CENT. XVI.

[m] The history and transactions of this Congregation are related and illustrated by several writers of different complexions, by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Jansenists. Hyacinth Serri, a Dominican, published, under the feigned name of Augustin le Blanc, in 1700, at Louvain, a work with this title; Historia Congregationum de auxiliis Gratiæ divinæ; which was answered by another history of these debates, composed by Liv. de Meyer, a Jesuit, who assumed the name of Theod. Eleutherius, in order to remain concealed from public view, and whose book is entitled, Historia Controversiarum de Gratiæ divinæ Auxiliis. The Dominicans also published the Acta Congregationum et Disputationum, quæ coram Clemente VIII. et Paulo V. de Auxiliis divinæ Gratiæ sunt celebratæ, a work composed by Thomas de Lemos, a subtile monk of their order, who, in this very congregation, had defended with great applause the glory of St. Thomas against the Jesuits.—Amidst these jarring accounts, a man must be endowed with a supernatural sagacity to come to the truth; for acts are opposed to acts, testimony to testimony, and narration to narration. It is therefore a matter of doubt, which the court of Rome favored most on this occasion, the Jesuits or the Dominicans, and which of these two parties defended their cause with the greatest dexterity and success. There is also a history of these debates written in French, which was published at Louvain in 1702, under the following title; Histoire des Congregations *de Auxiliis*, par un Docteur de la Faculté de Theologie de Paris. This historian, though he be neither destitute of learning nor of elegance, being nevertheless a flaming Jansenist, discovers throughout his enmity against the Jesuits, and relates all things in a manner that favors the cause of the Dominicans.

CENT. XVI. order concerned in this controversy, on account of the opposition so publicly made to one of its members, and consequently used their utmost endeavours to have the Spanish doctor acquitted of the charge of Pelagianism, and declared free from any errors of moment. In this they acted according to the true monastic spirit, which leads each order to resent the affronts that are offered to any of its members, as if they had been cast upon the whole community, and to maintain, at all adventures, the cause of every individual monk, as if the interests of the whole society were involved in it.

Rites and ceremonies.

XLII. Notwithstanding the zealous attempts that were made, by several persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, a multitude of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the church; nor did the pontiffs judge it proper to diminish that pomp and show, which gave the ministers of religion a great, though ill-acquired, influence on the minds of the people. Beside these ceremonies, many popular customs and inventions, which were multiplied by the clergy, and were either entirely absurd or grossly superstitious, called loudly for redress; and, indeed, the council of Trent seemed disposed to correct these abuses, and prevent their farther growth. But this good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned, either through the corrupt prudence of the pope and clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority, or through their criminal negligence about every thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Hence it happens, that in those countries where there are few protestants, and consequently where the church of Rome is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the proximity and attempts of these pretended heretics, superstition reigns with unlimited extravagance and absurdity. Such is the case in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity, that yet remain, are

overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastic, and unaccountable rites; so that a person who arrives in any one of these countries, after having passed among other nations even of the Romish communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into the most gloomy retreats of superstition[n]. Nor, indeed, are even those nations whom the neighbourhood of the protestants, and a more free and liberal turn of mind, have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition, and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of Rome, in its best form, and in those places where its external worship is the least shocking, is certainly loaded with rites and observances that are highly offensive to sound reason. If, from this general view of things, we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of that church; if we attend to the pious, or rather impious, frauds which, in many places, are imposed with impunity upon the deluded multitude; if we pass in review the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of the Romish preachers; if we weigh all these things maturely, we shall find, that they have little regard to impartiality and truth, who

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[n] It is well known that the French, who travel into Italy, employ the whole force of their wit and raillery in rendering ridiculous the monstrous superstition of the Italians. The Italians, in their turn, look upon the French that visit their country as totally destitute of all principles of religion. This is evidently the case, as we learn from the testimony of many writers, and particularly from that of Father Labat, in his Voyages en Italie et en Espagne. This agreeable Dominican lets no opportunity escape of censuring and exposing the superstition of the Spaniards and Italians; nor does he pretend to deny that his countrymen, and even he himself, passed for impious libertines in the opinion of those bigots.

CENT. XVI. pretend that, since the council of Trent, the religion and worship of the Roman church have been every where corrected and amended.

CHAPTER II.

The History of the Greek and Eastern Churches.

The eastern church may be divided into three branches.

I. THE Christian society that goes under the general denomination of the eastern church, is dispersed throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, and may be divided into three distinct communities. The first is that of the Greek Christians, who agree, in all points of doctrine and worship, with the patriarch residing at Constantinople, and reject the pretended supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The second comprehends those Christians who differ equally from the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch, in their religious opinions and institutions, and who live under the government of their own bishops and rulers. The third is composed of those who are subject to the see of Rome.

The Greek church, properly speaking.

II. That society which holds religious communion with the patriarch of Constantinople, is, properly speaking, the Greek (though it assumes likewise the title of the eastern) church. This society is subdivided into two branches, of which one acknowleges the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Constantinople, while the other, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with that prelate, obstinately refuses to receive his legates, or to obey his edicts, and is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers, who are not dependent on any foreign authority.

Is for the most part subject to the patriarch of Constantinople,

III. That part of the Greek church which acknowleges the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constantinople, is divided, as in the early ages of Christianity, into four large districts or provinces, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and over each

of these a bishop presides with the title of Patriarch, whom the inferior bishops and monastic orders unanimously respect as their common Father. But the supreme chief of all these patriarchs, bishops and abbots, and indeed of the whole church, is the patriarch of Constantinople. This prelate has the privilege of nominating the other patriarchs (though that dignity still continues apparently elective), and of approving the election that is made; nor is any thing of moment undertaken or transacted in the church without his express permission, or his especial order. It is true, that, in the present decayed state of the Greek churches, whose former opulence is reduced almost to nothing, their spiritual rulers enjoy little more than the splendid title of patriarchs, without being in a condition to extend their fame, or promote their cause, by any undertaking of signal importance. CENT. XVI.

IV. The spiritual jurisdiction and dominion of the first of these patriarchs are very extensive, comprehending a considerable part of Greece, the Grecian Isles, Wallachia, Moldavia, and several of the European and Asiatic provinces subject to the Turks. The patriarch of Alexandria resides generally at Cairo, and exercises his spiritual authority in Egypt, Nubia, Libya, and part of Arabia[o]. Damascus is the principal residence of the patriarch of Antioch, whose jurisdiction extends to Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, and other provinces[p], while the patriarch of Jerusalem and is divided into four provinces or districts here described.

[o] For an account of the patriarchate of Alexandria and the various prelates who have filled that see, it will be proper to consult Sollerii Commentar. de Patriarchis Alexandrinis, prefixed to the fifth volume of the Acta Sanctorum Mensis Junii; as also the Oriens Christianus of Mich. Le Quien, tom. ii. p. 329. The nature of their office, the extent of their authority, and the manner of their creation, are accurately described by Eus. Renaudot, in his Dissertatio de Patriarcha Alexandrino, published in Liturg. Orient. The Grecian patriarch has, at this day, no bishops under his jurisdiction; the chorepiscopi or rural bishops alone are subject to his authority. All the bishops acknowlege as their chief the patriarch of the Monophysites, who is, in effect, the patriarch of Alexandria.

[p] The Jesuits have prefixed a particular and learned account

CENT. XVI. comprehends, within the bounds of his pontificate, Palestine, Syria [q], Arabia, the country beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, and mount Sion [r]. The episcopal dominions of these three patriarchs are indeed extremely poor and inconsiderable; for the Monophysites have long since assumed the patriarchal seats of Alexandria and Antioch, and have deprived the Greek churches of the greatest part of their members in all those places where they have gained an ascendancy; and, as Jerusalem is the resort of Christians of every sect, who have their respective bishops and rulers, the jurisdiction of the Grecian patriarch is consequently confined there within narrow limits.

The patriarch of Constantinople.

V. The right of electing the patriarch of Constantinople is, at this day, vested in the twelve bishops who reside nearest to that famous capital; but the Turkish emperor alone enjoys the right of confirming this election, and of enabling the new patriarch to

of the patriarchs of Antioch to the fifth volume of the Acta SS. Mensis Julii, in which, however, there are some omissions and defects. Add to this the account that is given of the district or diocese of the patriarch of Antioch, by Le Quien, in his Oriens Christianus, tom. ii. and by Blasius Tertius, in his "Siria Sacra, ò Descrittione Historico-Geographica delle due Chiese Patriarchali, Antiochia, e Gierusalemme," published at Rome, in 1695. There are three bishops in Syria who claim the title and dignity of patriarch of Antioch. The first is the bishop of the Melchites, —a name given to the Christians in Syria, who follow the doctrine, institutions, and worship of the Greek church; the second is the spiritual guide of the Syrian Monophysites; and the third is the chief of the Maronites, who hold communion with the church of Rome. This last bishop pretends to be the true and lawful patriarch of Antioch, and is acknowleged as such, or at least receives this denomination from the Roman pontiff; yet it is certain, that the pope creates at Rome a patriarch of Antioch of his own choice. Thus the see of Antioch has, at this day, four patriarchs, one from the Greeks, two from the Syrians, and one created at Rome, who is patriarch *in partibus*, i. e. titular patriarch, according to the usual signification of that phrase.

☞ [q] Syria is here erroneously placed in the patriarchate of Jerusalem: it evidently belongs to that of Antioch, in which also Dr. Mosheim places it in the preceding part of the sentence.

[r] Blas. Tertii Siria Sacra, lib. ii. D. Papebrochii Comment. de Patriarch. Hierosolym. tom. iii. Act. Sanct. Mens. Mail.—Le Quien, tom. iii.

exercise his spiritual functions. This institution, however, if it is not entirely overturned, is nevertheless, on many occasions, prostituted in a shameful manner by the corruption and avarice of the reigning ministers. Thus it happens, that many bishops, inflamed with the ambitious lust of power and pre-eminence, purchase by money what they cannot obtain by merit, and, seeing themselves excluded from the patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of their brethren, find an open and ready way to it by the mercenary services of men in power. What is yet more deplorable has frequently happened: prelates, who have been chosen in the lawful way to this eminent office, have even been deposed, in order to make way for others, whose only pretensions were ambition and bribery. And indeed, generally speaking, he is looked upon by the Turkish vizirs as the most qualified for the office of patriarch, who surpasses his competitors in the number and value of the presents he employs on that occasion. It is true, that some accounts worthy of credit represent the present state of the Greek church as advantageously changed in this respect; and it is reported, that, as the Turkish manners have gradually assumed a milder and more humane cast, the patriarchs live under their dominion with more security and repose than they did some ages ago [s].

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The power of the patriarch among a people dispirited by oppression, and sunk, through their extreme ignorance, into the greatest superstition, may be supposed to be very considerable and extensive; and such, indeed, it is. Its extent, however, is not entirely derived from the causes now mentioned, but from others that give no small weight and lustre to the patriarchal dignity. For this prelate not only calls councils by his own authority, in order to decide, by their assistance, the controversies that arise, and

[s] Le Quien, tom. i. p. 145.—Elsner, Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Turckey.

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The doctrine of the Greek church.

VI. The Scriptures and the decrees of the first seven general councils are acknowleged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith. It is received, however, as a maxim established by long custom, that no private person has a right to explain, for himself or others, either the declarations of Scripture, or the decisions of these councils; and that the patriarch and his brethren are alone authorised to consult these oracles, and to declare their meaning; and, accordingly, the declarations of this prelate are looked upon as sacred and infallible directions, whose authority is supreme, and which can neither be transgressed nor disregarded without the utmost impiety. The

[t] Cuper, a Jesuit, has given a History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, in the Acta Sanctorum Mensis Augusti, tom. i. p. 1—257. There is also a very ample account both of the see of Constantinople and its patriarchs, in the Oriens Christianus of Le Quien, who likewise treats of the Latin patriarchs of that city. See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in Smith, de Eccles Græciæ Hodierno Statu.

substance of the doctrine of the Greek church is contained in a treatise entitled, The orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church, which was drawn up by Peter Mogislaus, bishop of Kiow, in a provincial council assembled in that city. This confession was translated into Greek [u], and publicly approved and adopted, in 1643, by Parthenius of Constantinople, and the other Grecian patriarchs. It was afterwards published in Greek and Latin, at the expence of Panagiota, the grand-signor's interpreter, a man of great opulence and liberality, who ordered it to be distributed *gratis* among the Greek Christians; and it was also enriched with a recommendatory letter composed by Nectarius, patriarch of Jerusalem [w]. It appears evidently from this confession, that the Greeks differ widely from the votaries of the Roman pontiff, whose doctrines they reject and treat with indignation in several places; but it appears, at the same time, that their religious tenets are equally remote from those of other Christian societies; so that whoever peruses this treatise with

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[u] It was originally composed in the Russian language.

[w] This confession was published at Leipsic, with a Latin translation, by Laur. Normannus, in 1695. In the preface we are informed, that it had been composed by Nectarius: but this assertion is refuted by that prelate himself, in a letter which immediately follows the preface. It is also affirmed, both in the preface and title-page, that this is the first public edition which has been given of the Greek confession. But this assertion is also false, since it is well known that it was published in Holland in 1662, at the expence of Panagiota. The German translation of this confession was published at Frankfort and Leipsic, in 1727. The learned Jo. Christ. Kocher has given, with his usual accuracy and erudition, an ample account both of this and the other confessions received among the Greeks, in his Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbol., and the laborious Dr. Hoffman, principal professor of divinity at Wittenberg, published, in 1751, a new edition of the Orthodox Confession, with an historical account of it. Those who are desirous of a circumstantial account of the famous Panagiota, to whom this confession was indebted for a considerable part of its credit, and who rendered to the Greek church in general the most eminent services, will find it in Cantemir's Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, tom. iii. p. 149.

CENT. XVI. attention, will be fully convinced, how much certain writers mistake the case, who imagine that the obstacles which prevent the union of the Greeks with this or the other Christian community, are small and inconsiderable [x].

The design of uniting the Greeks with the Protestants miscarries.

VII. The votaries of Rome have found this to be true on many occasions. And the Lutherans made an experiment of the same kind, when they presented a fruitless invitation to the Greek churches to embrace their doctrine and discipline, and live with them in religious communion. The first steps in this laudable attempt were taken by Melanchthon, who sent to the patriarch of Constantinople a copy of the confession of Augsburg, translated into Greek by Paul Dolscius. This present was accompanied with a letter, in which the learned and humane professor represented the protestant doctrine with the utmost simplicity and faithfulness, hoping that the artless charms of truth might touch the heart of the Grecian prelate. But his hopes were disappointed; for the patriarch did not even deign to send him an answer [y]. After this the divines of Tubingen renewed, with his successor Jeremiah [z], the correspondence which had been begun by Melanchthon. They wrote frequently, during the course of several years [a], to the new patriarch, and sent him another copy of the Confession of Augsburg, with a Compendium of Theology, composed by Heerbrand, and translated into Greek by Martin Crusius; nor did they leave unemployed any means, which a pious and well-con-

[x] The learned Fabricius has given, in the tenth volume of his Bibliotheca Græca, an exact and ample list of the writers, whom it is proper to consult, in order to form a just notion of the state, circumstances, and doctrines of the Greek church.

[y] Leo Allatius, de perpetuâ Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident. lib. iii. cap. viii. sect. ii. p. 1005.

[z] The name of the former patriarch was Joseph. In 1559, he had sent his deacon Demetrius to Wittenberg, to inform himself upon the spot of the genius and doctrines of the protestant religion.

[a] This correspondence commenced in 1576, and ended in 1581.

ducted zeal could suggest as proper to gain over this prelate to their communion. The fruits, however, of this correspondence were very inconsiderable, and wholly consisted in a few letters from the Greek patriarch, written, indeed, with an amiable spirit of benevolence and cordiality, but at the same time in terms which shewed the impossibility of the union so much desired by the protestants. The whole strain of these letters manifested in the Greeks an inviolable attachment to the opinions and institutions of their ancestors, and tended to demonstrate the vanity of attempting to dissolve it in the present situation and circumstances of that people [b]. CENT. XVI.

VIII. Nothing, indeed, more deplorable can be conceived than the state of the greatest part of the Greeks, since their subjection to the oppressive yoke of the Turkish emperors. Since that fatal period, almost all learning and science, human and divine, have been extinguished among them. They have neither schools, colleges, nor any of those literary establishments that ennoble human nature, by sowing in the mind the immortal seeds of knowlege and virtue. Those few who surpass the vulgar herd in intellectual acquirements have derived this advantage from the schools of learning in Sicily or Italy, where the studious Greeks usually repair in quest of knowlege, or from a perusal of the writings of the ancient doctors, and more especially of the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas, which they have translated into their native language [c]. The miserable state of the Greeks.

Such, at least, is the notion of the learning of the modern Greeks, that is entertained by all the

[b] All the acts and papers relating to this correspondence were published in 1584. See Christ. Matth. Pfaffii Liber de Actis et Scriptis publicis Ecclesiæ Wirtembergicæ, p. 50.—Jo. Alb. Fabricii Biblioth. Græca, vol. x.—Emman. a Schelstrate, Acta Ecclesiæ Orientalis contra Lutheri Hæresin.—Lami Deliciæ Eruditorum, tom. viii.

☞ [c] The translator has inserted the note [k] of the original into that paragraph of the English text, which begins thus: *Such, at least*, &c.

CENT. XVI. European Christians, as well Roman Catholics as protestants; and it is built upon the clearest evidence, and supported by testimonies of every kind. Many of the Greeks deny with obstinacy this inglorious charge, and not only defend their countrymen against the imputation of such gross ignorance, but even go so far as to maintain, that all the liberal arts and sciences are in as flourishing a state in modern Greece, as they were in any period of the history of that nation. Among the writers that exalt the learning of the modern Greeks in such an extraordinary manner, the first place is due to an eminent historian [d], who has taken much pains to demonstrate the error of those who are of a different opinion. For this purpose he has not only composed a list of the learned men who adorned that country in the last century, but also makes mention of an academy founded at Constantinople by a certain Greek, whose name was Manolax, in which all the branches of philosophy, all the liberal and useful arts and sciences, are taught with the utmost success and applause, after the manner of the ancient sages of Greece. But all this, though matter of fact, does not amount to a satisfactory proof of the point in question. It only proves, what was never doubted by any thinking person, that the populous Greek nation, in which are many ancient, noble, and opulent families, is not entirely destitute of men of learning and genius. But it does not at all demonstrate, that this nation, considered in general, is at present enriched with science either sacred or profane, or makes any shining figure in the republic of letters. In a nation which, generally speaking, is sunk in the most barbarous ignorance, some men of genius and learning may arise, and shine like meteors in a gloomy firmament. With respect to the academy founded at Constantinople, it may be observed, that a

[d] See Demetrius Cantemir's Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, tom. ii.

literary establishment, so necessary and yet so recent, confirms the judgement that has been almost universally formed concerning the state of erudition among the Greeks. CENT. XVI.

This ignorance, which reigns among the Greeks, has the most pernicious influence upon their morals. Licentiousness and impiety not only abound among the people, but also dishonor their leaders; and the calamities that arise from this corruption of manners, are deplorably augmented by their endless contentions and divisions. Their religion is a motley collection of ceremonies, the greatest part of which are either ridiculously trifling, or shockingly absurd. Yet they are much more zealous in retaining and observing these senseless rites, than in maintaining the doctrine, or obeying the precepts, of the religion they profess. Their misery would be extreme, were it not for the support they derive from those Greeks who perform the functions of physicians and interpreters at the emperor's court; and who, by their opulence and credit, frequently interpose to reconcile the differences, or to ward off the dangers, that so often menace their church with destruction.

IX. The Russians, Georgians, and Mingrelians, adopt the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church, though they are entirely free from the jurisdiction and authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. It is true, indeed, that this prelate had formerly enjoyed the privilege of a spiritual supremacy over the Russians, to whom he sent a bishop whenever a vacancy happened. But, toward the conclusion of this century, this privilege ceased in consequence of the following incident. Jeremiah II., patriarch of Constantinople, undertook a journey into Moscovy, to levy pecuniary succours against his rival Metrophanes, and to drive him, by the force of money, from the patriarchal throne. On this occasion, the Moscovite monks, in compliance, no doubt, with the secret orders of the grand duke Theodore, the son of John Basilowitz, employed all the influ- The Greek church independent of foreign jurisdiction.

CENT. XVI. ence both of threatenings and supplications to engage Jeremiah to place at the head of the Moscovite nation an independent patriarch. The patriarch of Constantinople, unable to resist such powerful solicitations, was forced to yield; and accordingly, in a council assembled at Moscow in 1589, he nominated and proclaimed Job, archbishop of Rostow, the first patriarch of the Moscovites. This extraordinary step was, however, taken on condition that every new patriarch of the Russians should demand the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of Constantinople, and pay, at fixed periods, five hundred gold ducats. The transactions of this Moscovite council were afterwards ratified in one assembled by Jeremiah at Constantinople in 1593, to which ratification the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent[e]. But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of Moscow were extended about the middle of the following century, when Dionysius II., the Constantinopolitan primate, and his three patriarchal colleagues, exempted him, at the renewed solicitation of the grand duke of Moscovy, from the double obligation of paying tribute, and of depending, for the confirmation of his election and installation, on a foreign jurisdiction[f].

The Georgians and Mingrelians.

X. The Georgians and Mingrelians, or, as they were anciently called, the Iberians and Colchians, have declined so remarkably since the Mohammedan dominion has been established in these countries, that they can scarcely be ranked in the number of Christians. Such, in a more especial manner, is the depraved state of the latter, who wander about the woods and mountains, and lead a savage and undisciplined life; but, among the Georgians or Iberians,

[e] See Anton. Possevini Moscovia.—Le Quien, tom. i. The Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Biblioth. Taurinens. (p. 433—469.) contains Jeremiah's account of this transaction.

[f] Le Quien, tom. i.—Nic. Bergius, de Ecclesiâ Moscovitică, par. i. sect. i. c. xviii.

there are yet some remains of religion, morals, and humanity. These nations have a pontiff at their head, whom they call the Catholic; they have also their bishops and priests; but these spiritual rulers are a dishonor to Christianity, by their ignorance, avarice, and profligacy; they surpass almost the populace in the corruption of their manners, and, grossly ignorant themselves of the truths and principles of religion, they never entertain the least thought of instructing the people. If therefore it be affirmed, that the Georgians and Mingrelians, at this day, are neither attached to the opinions of the Monophysites, nor to those of the Nestorians, but embrace the doctrine of the Greek church, this must be affirmed rather in consequence of probable conjecture, than of certain knowlege, since it is almost impossible to know, with precision, what are the sentiments of a people who seem to be involved in the thickest darkness. Any remains of religion, observable among them, are entirely comprehended in certain sacred festivals and external ceremonies, of which the former are celebrated, and the latter are performed, without the least appearance of decency; for the priests administer the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's supper with as little respect and devotion, as if they were partaking of an ordinary repast [g]. CENT. XVI.

XI. The eastern Christians, who renounce the communion of the Greek church, and differ from it *Of the eastern churches that separate from the communion of the Greeks and Latins.*

[g] Clementis Galani Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenicæ cum Romanâ, tom. i. p. 156.—Chardin's Voyage en Perse, &c. tom. i. p. 67, where the reader will find Jos. Mar. Zampi's Relation de la Colchide et Mingrelie.—Lamberti's Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie, in the Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tom. vii. p. 160. Le Quien, tom. i. p. 1333.—See also Rich. Simon's Histoire Critique des Dogmes et Ceremonies des Chretiens Orientaux, ch. v. and vi. in which the learned author endeavours to remove, at least, a part of the reproach under which the Georgians and Mingrelians labor on account of their supposed ignorance and corruption. The catholics or pontiffs of Georgia and Mingrelia are, at this day, exempt from foreign jurisdiction; they are, however, obliged to pay a certain tribute to the patriarch of Constantinople.

CENT. XVI. both in doctrine and worship, may be comprehended under two distinct classes. To the former belong the Monophysites, or Jacobites, so called from Jacob Albardai [h], who declare it as their opinion, that in the Saviour of the world there is only one nature, while the latter comprehends the followers of Nestorius, frequently called *Chaldæans*, from the country where they principally reside, and who suppose that there are two distinct persons or natures in the Son of God. The Monophysites are subdivided into two sects or parties, one African, the other Asiatic. At the head of the Asiatics is the patriarch of Antioch, who resides, for the most part, in the monastery of St. Ananias, and sometimes at Merdin, his episcopal seat, or at Amida, Aleppo, and other Syrian cities [i]. The government of this prelate is too extensive, and the churches over which he presides are too numerous, to allow his performing, himself, all the duties of his high office; and therefore a part of the administration of the pontificate is given to a kind of colleague, who is called the *maphrian*, or primate of the East, and whose doctrine and discipline are said to be adopted by the eastern churches beyond the Tigris. This primate used formerly to reside at Tauris, a city on the frontiers of Armenia; but his present habitation is the monastery of St. Matthew, near Mosul, in Mesopotamia. It is farther observa-

[h] This Jacob Albardai, or Baradæus, as he is called by others, restored, in the sixth century, the sect of the Monophysites, then almost expiring, to its former vigor, and modeled it anew; hence they were called Jacobites. This denomination is commonly used in an extensive sense, as comprehending all the Monophysites, except those of Armenia; it, however, more strictly and properly belongs only to those Asiatic Monophysites, of whom Jacob Albardai was the restorer and the chief. See Simon's Histoire des Chretiens Orientaux—a work, nevertheless, that often wants correction.

[i] Assemani Dissert. de Monophysitis, tom. ii.—Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatican. sect. viii.—Faust. Nairon's Euoplia Fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum Monument. par. i. p. 40.—Le Quien's Oriens Christ. tom. ii. p. 1343.

ble, that all the patriarchs of the Jacobites assume the denomination of Ignatius [k]. CENT. XVI.

The Copts and Abyssinians.

XII. The African Monophysites are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria, who generally resides at Grand Cairo; and they are subdivided into Copts and Abyssinians. The former denomination comprehends all those Christians who dwell in Egypt, Nubia, and the countries adjacent, and whose condition is truly deplorable. Oppressed by the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Turks, they draw out their wretched days in misery and want, and are unable to support either their patriarch or their bishops. These are not, however, left entirely destitute; since they are, in a manner, maintained by the liberality of those Copts, who, on account of their capacity in domestic affairs, and their dexterity in the exercise of several manual arts, highly useful, though entirely unknown to the Turks, have gained admittance into the principal Moslem families [l]. As to the Abyssinians, they surpass considerably the Copts, in number, power, and opulence; nor will this appear surprising, when it is considered, that they live under the dominion of a Christian emperor; they, nevertheless, consider the Alexandrian pontiff as their spiritual parent and chief; and, consequently, instead of choosing their

[k] Assemani Dissertat. de Monophysitis, sect. viii.

[l] Renaudot published, in 1713, a very learned work, relative to the history of the Eastern patriarchs, under the title of "Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum," &c. He also gave to the world the office used in the ordination of the Jacobite patriarch, with remarks, in the first volume of his Liturg. Orient.—The internal state of the Alexandrian or Coptic church, both with respect to doctrine and worship, is described by Wansleb, in his "Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, que nous appellons celle des Jacobites Coptes," published in 1667. Add to this another work of the same author, entitled, "Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte," in which there is a particular account of the Coptic monasteries and religious orders. See also "Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant;" and Maillet's Description de l'Egypte, tom. ii.

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own bishop, receive from that prelate a primate, whom they call *abuna*, and whom they acknowlege as their spiritual ruler [m].

The religious doctrines and rites of the Monophysites.

XIII. These Monophysites differ from other Christian societies, whether of the Greek or Latin communion, in many points, both of doctrine and worship, though the principal reason of their separation lies in the opinion they entertain concerning the nature and person of Jesus Christ. Following the doctrine of Dioscorus, Barsuma, Xenaias, Fullo, and others, whom they consider as the heads or chief ornaments of their sect, they maintain that in Christ the divine and human natures were reduced into one, and consequently reject both the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and the famous letter of Leo the Great. That, however, they may not seem to have the least inclination toward the doctrine of Eutyches, which they profess to reject with the most ardent zeal, they propose their own system with the utmost caution and circumspection, and hold the following obscure principles: That the two natures are united in Christ without either confusion or mixture; so that though the nature of our Saviour be really one, yet it is at the same time twofold and compound [n]. By this declaration it appears, that those learned men, who look upon the difference between the Monophysites, and the Greek and Latin churches, rather as a dispute about *words* than *things*, are not

[m] Job Ludolf, Comment. in Histor. Æthiop. p. 451, 461.—Lobo, Voyage d'Abissinie, tom. ii. p. 36.—Nouveaux Memoires des Missions dans le Levant, tom. iv.—Le Quien, tom. ii.

[n] Assemani Biblioth. Orien. Clement. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 25, 34, 117, 133, 277, 297, &c.—See, in the same work, Abulpharajius' subtile vindication of the doctrine of his sect, vol. ii. p. 288. There is a complete and circumstantial account of the religion of the Abyssinians, in the Theologia Æthiopica of Gregory the Abyssinian, published by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens, p. 716, where may also be found a list of all the writers who have given accounts of the Abyssinians.

so far in an error as some have imagined [o]. Be that as it may, both the Asiatic and African Monophysites of the present times are, generally speaking, so deeply sunk in ignorance, that their attachment to the doctrine by which they are distinguished from other Christian societies, is rather founded on their own obstinacy, and on the authority of their ancestors, than on any other circumstance; nor do they even pretend to appeal, in its behalf, to reason and argument [p]. CENT. XVI.

XIV. The Armenians [q], though they agree with the other Monophysites in the main doctrine of that sect relating to the unity of the divine and human nature in Christ, differ from them, nevertheless, in many points of faith, discipline, and worship; and The Armenians.

[o] See La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, p. 23. Asseman. tom. ii. p. 291, 297.—Rich. Simon, Histoire des Chretiens Orientaux, p. 119.—Jo. Joach. Schroderi Thesaurus Linguæ Armenicæ, p. 276. ☞ The truth of the matter is, that the terms used by the Monophysites are something more than equivocal; they are contradictory. It may also be farther observed, that those who pretend to hold a middle path between the doctrines of Nestorius and Eutyches, were greatly embarrassed, as it was almost impossible to oppose the one, without adopting, or at least appearing to adopt the other.

[p] The liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published, with learned observations, by Renaudot, in the first and second volumes of his Liturgiæ Orientales.

[q] The first writer, who gave a circumstantial account of the religion and history of the Armenians, was Clement Galani, an Italian of the order of the Theatins, whose Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenicæ cum Romanâ was published in 1650. The other authors, who have treated of this branch of ecclesiastical history, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens, ch. xxxviii; to which must be added, Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. i.—The History of Christianity in Armenia, which the learned La Croze has subjoined to his account of the progress of the Christian religion in Abyssinia, is by no means answerable to the importance and copiousness of the subject; which must be attributed to the age and infirmities of that author. For an account of the particular institutions and rites of the Armenians, see Gemelli Carreri, Voyage autour du Monde, tom. ii.

CENT. XVI. hence it comes to pass, that they hold no communion with that branch of the Monophysites who are Jacobites in the more limited sense of that term. The Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs[r]. The chief, whose diocese comprehends the Greater Armenia, beholds forty-two archbishops subjected to his jurisdiction, and resides in a monastery at Echmiazin. The revenues of this spiritual ruler are such as would enable him to live in the most splendid and magnificent manner[s]; but there are no marks of pomp or opulence in his external appearance, or in his regular œconomy. His table is frugal, his habit plain; nor is he distinguished from the monks, with whom he lives, by any other circumstance than his superior power and authority. He is, for the most part, elected to his patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at Echmiazin, and his election is confirmed by the solemn approbation of the Persian monarch. The second patriarch of the Armenians, who is called the Catholic, resides at Cis in Cilicia, rules over the churches established in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria, and has twelve archbishops under his jurisdiction. He at present acknowleges his subordination to the patriarch of Echmiazin. The third patriarch, who has no more than eight or nine bishops under his dominion, resides in the island of Aghtamar (which is in the midst of the great lake of Varaspuracan), and is looked upon by the other Armenians as the enemy of their church.

[r] Sir Paul Ricaut mentions four; but his authority, were it more respectable than it really is, cannot be compared with that of the excellent sources from which Dr. Mosheim draws his materials.

[s] R. Simon has subjoined to his Histoire des Chretiens Orient. an account of all the Armenian churches which are subject to the jurisdiction of this grand patriarch; but this account, though taken from Uscanus, an Armenian bishop, is defect
respects. For an account of the residence and m
the patriarch of Echmiazin, see Paul Lucas
tom. ii., and Gemelli Carreri, Voyage aut

Beside these prelates, who are patriarchs in the true sense of that term, the Armenians have other spiritual leaders, who are honored with the same appellation; but this, indeed, is no more than an empty title, unattended with the authority and prerogatives of the patriarchal dignity. Thus the archbishop of the Armenians, who lives at Constantinople, and whose authority is respected by the churches established in those provinces which form the connexion between Europe and Asia, enjoys the title of patriarch. The same denomination is given to the Armenian bishop who resides at Jerusalem, and also to the prelate of the same nation, who has his episcopal seat at Caminiec in Poland, and governs the Armenian churches that are established in Russia, Poland, and the adjacent countries. These bishops assume the title of patriarchs, on account of some peculiar privileges conferred on them by the great patriarch of Echmiazin; for, by an authority derived from this supreme head of the Armenian church, they are allowed to consecrate bishops, and to make, every third year, and distribute among their congregations, the holy *chrism*, or ointment; which, according to a constant custom among the eastern Christians, is the privilege of the patriarchs alone[t]. CENT. XVI.

XV. The Nestorians, who are also known by the denomination of Chaldeans, have fixed their habitation chiefly in Mesopotamia and the neighbouring countries. They have several doctrines, as well as some religious ceremonies and institutions, that are peculiar to themselves. But the main points that distin- The Nestorians, or Chaldeans.

[t] See the Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iii. where there is an ample and circumstantial account, both of the civil and religious state of the Armenians. This account has been highly applauded by M. de la Croze, for cy, and industry with which it is drawn up; ore conversant in subjects of this nature than

CENT. XVI. guish them from all other Christian societies, are, their persuasion that Nestorius was unjustly condemned by the council of Ephesus, and their firm attachment to the doctrine of that prelate, who maintained that there were not only two natures, but also two distinct persons in the Son of God. In the earlier ages of the church, this error was looked upon as of the most momentous and pernicious kind; but in our times it is deemed of less consequence, by persons of the greatest weight and authority in theological matters, even among the Roman Catholic doctors. They consider this whole controversy as a dispute about words, and the opinion of Nestorius as a nominal, rather than a real heresy; that is, as an error arising rather from the words he employed, than from his intention in the use of them. It is true indeed, that the Chaldeans attribute to Christ two natures, and even two persons; but they correct what may seem rash in this expression, by adding, that these natures and persons are so closely and intimately united, that they have only one aspect. Now the word *barsopa*, by which they express this aspect, is precisely of the same signification with the Greek word προσωπον, which signifies a *person*[u]; and hence it is evident, that they attached to the word *aspect* the same idea that we attach to the word *person*, and that they understood by the word *person*, precisely what we understand, by the term *nature*. However that may be, we must observe here, to the lasting honor of the Nestorians, that, of all the Christian societies established in the East, they have been the most careful and successful in avoiding a multitude of superstitious opinions and

[u] It is in this manner that the sentiments of the Nestorians are explained in the inscriptions which adorn the tombs of their patriarchs at Mosul.—See Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. iii. par. ii.—R. Simon, Histoire de la Creance des Chretiens Orientaux, ch. vii.—P. Strozzi, de Dogmatibus Chaldæorum, published in 1617.

practices that have infected the Greek and Latin churches [x]. CENT. XVI.

XVI. In the earlier ages of Nestorianism, the various branches of that numerous and powerful sect were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the same pontiff, or *catholic*, who resided first at Bagdad, and afterwards at Mosul; but in this century the Nestorians were divided into two sects. They had chosen, in 1552, as has been already observed, two bishops at the same time, Simeon Barmama, and John Sulaka, otherwise named Siud. The latter, to strengthen his interest, and to triumph over his competitor, hastened to Rome, and acknowleged the jurisdiction, that he might be supported by the credit, of the Roman pontiff. In 1555, Simeon Denha, archbishop of Gelu, adopted the party of the fugitive patriarch, who had embraced the communion of the Latin church; and, being afterwards chosen patriarch himself, fixed his residence in the city of Ormia, in the mountainous parts of Persia. So far down as the last century, these patriarchs persevered in their communion with the church of Rome; but they seem at present to have withdrawn themselves from it [y]. The great Nestorian pontiffs, who form the opposite party, and look with a hostile eye on this little patriarch, have, since the year 1559, been distinguished by the general denomination of Elias, and reside constantly in the city of Mosul [z]. Their spiritual dominion is very extensive, takes in a considerable part of Asia, and comprehends also within its circuit the Arabian Their patriarchs.

[x] See the learned dissertation of Assemanus de Syris Nestorianis, which occupies entirely the fourth volume of his Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. and which seems to have been much consulted and partly copied by Mich. Le Quien.

[y] See Jos. Sim. Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. i. p. 538, and tom. ii. p. 456.

[z] A list of the Nestorian pontiffs is given by Assemanus, in his Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. part i. p. 711; which is corrected, however, in the same volume, part ii.—See also Le Quien, tom. iii. p. 1078.

CENT. XVI. Nestorians; as also the Christians of St. Thomas, who dwell along the coast of Malabar[a].

The remains of ancient sects.

XVII. Beside the Christian societies now mentioned, who still retain some faint shadow at least of the system of religion delivered by Christ and his apostles, there are other sects dispersed through a great part of Asia, whose principles and doctrines are highly pernicious. These sects derive their origin from the Ebionites, Valentinians, Manicheans, Basilidians, and other separatists, who, in the early ages of Christianity, excited schisms and factions in the church. Equally abhorred by Turks and Christians, and thus suffering oppression from all quarters, they gradually declined in successive centuries, and fell at length into such barbarous superstition and ignorance, as extinguished among them every spark of true religion. Thus were they reduced to the wretched and ignominious figure they at present make, having fallen from the privileges, and almost forfeited the very name of Christians. The sectaries, who pass in the East under the denomination of Sabians, who call themselves *Mendai Ijahi*, or the disciples of John, and whom the Europeans style the Christians of St. John, because they yet retain some knowlege of the Gospel, are probably of Jewish origin, and the remains of the ancient Hemerobaptists, of whom the writers of ecclesiastical history make frequent mention[b]. This, at least, is certain, that John, whom

[a] The reader will find an ample account of the Christians of St. Thomas in La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes. See also Assemani Biblioth. tom. iii. par. ii. cap. ix. p. ccccxiii.

[b] The sect of Hemerobaptists among the Jews were so called from their washing themselves every day, and their performing this custom with the greatest solemnity, as a religious rite, necessary to salvation. The account of this sect given by Epiphanius, in the introduction to his book of heresies, has been treated as a fiction, in consequence of the suspicions of inaccuracy and want of veracity, under which that author too justly labors. Even the existence of the Hemerobaptists has been denied, but without reason, since they are mentioned by Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and many other ancient writers, every

they consider as the founder of their sect, bears no sort of similitude to John the Baptist, but rather resembles the person of that name whom the ancient writers represent as the chief of the Jewish Hemerobaptists. These ambiguous Christians, whatever their origin may be, dwell in Persia and Arabia, and principally at Basra, and their religion consists in bodily washings, performed frequently, and with great solemnity [c], and attended with certain ceremonies which the priests mingle with this superstitious service [d]. CENT. XVI.

way worthy of credit. That the Christians of St. John descended from this sect, is rendered probable by many reasons, of which the principal and the most satisfactory may be seen in a very learned and ingenious work of Dr. Mosheim, entitled, de Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii.

[c] The Mendæans at present perform these ablutions only once in a year.

[d] See the work of a learned Carmelite, named Ignatius a Jesu, published in 1652, under the following title: "Narratio Originis Rituum et Errorum Christianorum S. Johannis, cui adjungitur Discursus, per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur xxxiv. Errores ejusdem Nationis." Engelb. Kæmpferi Amœnitates Exoticæ, Fascic. II. Relat. XI. p. 35.—Sale's Preface to his English Translation of the Koran, p. 15.—Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. tom. iii. par. ii. p. 609.—Thevenot, Voyages, tom. iv. p. 584.—Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 725.—The very learned Bayer had composed an historical account of these Mendæans, which contained a variety of curious and interesting facts, and of which he intended that I should be the editor; but a sudden death prevented his executing his intention. He was of opinion (as appears from the Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus) that these Mendæans, or disciples of St. John, were a branch of the ancient Manicheans; which opinion La Croze himself seems to have adopted, as may be seen in the work now cited, tom. iii. But there is really nothing, either in the doctrines or manners of this sect, that resembles the opinions and practice of the Manicheans. Hence several learned men conjecture, that they derive their origin from the ancient idolators who worshipped a plurality of gods, and more especially from those who payed religious adoration to the stars of heaven, and who were called, by the Arabians, Sabians or Sabeans. This opinion has been maintained with much erudition by the famous Fourmont, in a dissertation inserted in the eighteenth volume of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres. But it is absolutely groundless, and has not even a shadow of probability,

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The Jasidians, or Jezdæans.

XVIII. The Jasidians, or Jezdæans, of whose religion and manners many reports of a very doubtful nature are given by voyage-writers, are an unsettled wandering tribe, who frequent the Gordian mountains, and the deserts of Curdistan, a province of Persia; the character of whose inhabitants has something in it peculiarly fierce and intractable. The Jezdæans are divided into black and white members. The former are the priests and rulers of the sect, who go arrayed in sable garments; while the latter, who compose the multitude, are clothed in white. Their system of religion is certainly very singular, and is not hitherto sufficiently known, though it is evidently composed of some Christian doctrines, and a motley mixture of fictions drawn from a different source. They are distinguished from the other corrupt sects, that have dishonored Christianity, by the peculiar impiety of their opinion concerning the evil genius. This malignant principle they call *Karubin*, or Cherub, i. e. one of the great ministers of the Supreme Being; and, if they do not directly address religious worship to this evil minister, they treat him at least with the utmost respect, and not only abstain, themselves, from offering him any marks of hatred or contempt, but will not suffer any contumelious treatment to be given him by others. They carry, it is said, this reverence and circumspection to such an excessive height, that no efforts of persecution, no torments, not even death itself, can engage them to conceive or express an abhorrence of this evil genius;

if we except the name which the Mohammedans usually give to this sect. The Mendæans, themselves, acknowlege that they are of Jewish origin, and that they were transferred from Palestine into the country which they at present inhabit. They have sacred books of a very remote antiquity; among others, one which they attribute to Adam, and another composed by John, whom they revere as the founder of their sect. As these books were some years ago added to the library of the king of France, it is to be hoped that they may contribute to give us a more authentic account of this people than we have hitherto received.

and it is even added, that they will make no scruple to put to death such persons as express, in their presence, an aversion to him [e]. CENT. XVI.

XIX. The Duruzians, or Dursians, a fierce and warlike people that inhabit the craggy rocks and inhospitable wilds of mount Libanus, give themselves out for descendants of the Franks, who, from the eleventh century, carried on the holy war with the Mohammedans in Palestine; though this pretended origin is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. What the doctrine and discipline of this nation are at present, it is extremely difficult to know, as they are at the greatest pains imaginable to conceal their religious sentiments and principles. We find, however, both in their opinions and practice, the plainest proofs of their acquaintance with Christianity. Several learned men have imagined, that both they and the Curdi of Persia had formerly embraced the sentiments Duruzians, or Dursians.

[e] See Hyde, Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum in Append. p. 549.—Otter, Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. i. p. 121, tom. ii. p. 249. In the seventeenth century, Michael Nau, a learned Jesuit, undertook to instruct this profane sect, and to give them juster notions of religion (see D'Arvieux, Memoires ou Voyages, tom. vi. p. 362, 377), and after him another Jesuit, whose name was Monier, embarked in the same dangerous enterprize, (see Memoires des Missions des Jesuites, tom. iii. p. 291); but how they were received, and what success attended their ministry, is hitherto unknown. Rhenferdius (as appears from the letters of the learned Gisbert Cuper, published by Bayer) considers the Jezdæans as the descendants of the ancient Sethians. But this opinion is no less improbable than that which makes them a branch of the Manicheans; and this is sufficiently refuted by their sentiments concerning the Evil Genius. Beausobre, in his Histoire du Manicheisme, conjectures that the denomination of this sect is derived from the name of Jesus; but it seems rather to be borrowed from the word *Jazid*, or *Jezdan*, which, in the Persian language, signifies the *good God*, and is opposed to *Ahrimen*, or *Arimanius*, the Evil Principle, (see Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 484.—Cherefeddin Ali, Hist. de Timur-bec, tom. iii. p. 81.) so that the appellative term derived from the former points out that sect as the worshipers of the good, or true God. Notwithstanding the plausibility of this account of the matter, it is not impossible that the city *Jezd*, of which Otter speaks in his Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, may have given rise to the title of *Jasidians*, or *Jezdæans*.

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The Chamsi, or Solares, who reside in a certain district of Mesopotamia, are supposed, by curious inquirers into these matters, to be a branch of the Samsæans, mentioned by Epiphanius [g].

There are many other Semi-Christian sects of these kinds in the east [h], whose principles, tenets, and institutions, are far from being unworthy of the curiosity of the learned. And those who would be at the pains to turn their researches this way, and more especially to have the religious books of these sects conveyed into Europe, would undoubtedly render eminent service to the cause of sacred literature, and obtain applause from all who have a taste for the study of Christian antiquities; for the accounts which have hitherto been given of these nations and sects are full of uncertainty and contradiction.

Of the Greeks who embraced the Roman communion.

XX. The missionaries of Rome have never ceased to display, in these parts of the world, their dexterity in making proselytes, and accordingly have founded, though with great difficulty and expence, among the greatest part of the sects now mentioned, congregations that adopt the doctrine, and acknowlege the jurisdiction, of the Roman pontiff. It is abundantly known, that among the Greeks, who live under the empire of the Turks, and also among those who are subject to the dominion of the Venetians, the emperor of Germany, and other Christian princes, there are many who have adopted the faith and discipline of the Latin church, and are governed by their own clergy and bishops, who receive their confirmation

[f] See Lucas' Voyage en Grece et Asie Mineure, tom. ii. p. 36. —Hyde's Hist. Relig. Veter. Persar. p. 491, 554.—Sir Paul Ricaut's History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. i. p. 313.

[g] Hyde, Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar. p. 555.

[h] The Jesuit Diusse (in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangeres, tom. i. p. 63,) informs us of the existence of a sect of Christians, in the mountains which separate Persia from India, who imprint the sign of the cross on their bodies with a red-hot iron.

and authority from Rome. In the latter city is a college, expressly founded with a view to multiply these apostatising societies, and to increase and strengthen the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff among the Greeks. In these colleges a certain number of Grecian students, who have given early marks of genius and capacity, are instructed in the arts and sciences, and are more especially prepossessed with the deepest sentiments of veneration and zeal for the authority of the pope. Such an institution, accompanied with the efforts and labors of the missionaries, could not fail, one would think, to gain an immense number of proselytes to Rome, considering the unhappy state of the Grecian churches. But the case is quite otherwise; for the most respectable writers, even of the Roman catholic persuasion, acknowlege fairly, that the proselytes they have drawn from the Greek churches make a wretched and despicable figure, in point of number, opulence, and dignity, when compared with those, to whom the religion, government, and the very name of Rome, are disgusting and odious. They observe farther, that the sincerity of a great part of these proselytes is of the Grecian stamp; so that, when a favorable occasion is offered them of renouncing, with advantage, their pretended conversion, they seldom fail, not only to return to the bosom of their own church, but even to recompense the good offices they received from the Romans with the most injurious treatment. The same writers mention another circumstance, much less surprising, indeed, than those now mentioned, but much more dishonorable to the church of Rome; and that circumstance is, that even those of the Greek students who are educated at Rome with such care, as might naturally attach them to its religion and government, are, nevertheless, so disgusted and shocked at the corruptions of its church, clergy, and people, that they forget, more notoriously than others, the obligations with which they have been loaded, and exert themselves with peculiar obstinacy

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and bitterness in opposing the credit and authority of the Latin church[i].

A junction between the Russian and Roman churches attempted in vain.

XXI. In their efforts to extend the papal empire over the Greek churches, the designing pontiffs did not forget the church of Russia, the chief bulwark and ornament of the Grecian faith. On the contrary, frequent deliberations were holden at Rome, about the proper methods of uniting, or rather subjecting this church to the papal hierarchy. In this century John Basilides or Basilowitz, grand duke of the Russians, seemed to discover a propensity toward this union, by sending, in 1580, a solemn ambassy to Gregory XIII. to exhort that pontiff to resume the negotiations relative to this important matter, that they might be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion. Accordingly, in the year following, Antony Possevin, a learned and artful Jesuit, was charged by the pope with this commission, and sent into Moscovy, to carry it into execution. But this dexterous missionary, though he spared no pains to obtain the purposes of his ambitious court, found by experience that all his efforts were unequal to the task he had undertaken; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who arrived at Rome soon after, bring any thing to the ardent wishes of the pontiff, but empty promises, conceived in dubious and general terms, on which little dependence could be placed[k]. And,

[i] See, among other authors who have treated this point of history, Urb. Cerri, Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine, in which, speaking of the Greeks, he expresses himself in the following manner: "Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des catholiques lorsqu'ils ont appris nos sciences, et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos imperfections:" i. e. in plain English, they (the Greeks) become the bitterest enemies of us Roman catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have acquired the knowlege of our imperfections.—Other testimonies of a like nature shall be given hereafter.—Mich. Le Quien has given us an enumeration, although a defective one, of the Greek bishops who follow the rites of the Roman church, in his Oriens Christ. tom. iii. p. 360.

[k] See the conferences between Possevin and the duke of Moscovy, together with the other writings of this Jesuit (relative

indeed, the event abundantly shewed, that Basilowitz had no other view, in all these negotiations, than to flatter the pope, and obtain his assistance, in order to bring to an advantageous conclusion the unsuccessful war which he had carried on against Poland. CENT. XVI.

The advice and exhortations of Possevin and his associates were attended with more fruit among the Russians resident in the Polish dominions, many of whom embraced the doctrine and rites of the Roman church, in consequence of an association agreed on in 1596, in a meeting at Bresty, the capital of the Palatinate of Cujavia. Those who thus submitted to the communion of Rome were called the United, while the adverse party, who adhered to the doctrine and jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, were distinguished by the title of the Non-United [l]. It is likewise worthy of observation here, that there has been established at Kiow, since the fourteenth century, a Russian congregation subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and ruled by its own metropolitans, who are entirely distinct from the Russian bishops resident in that city [m].

The votaries of Rome not very numerous among the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Armenians.

XXII. The Roman missionaries made scarcely any spiritual conquests worthy of mention among either the Asiatic or African Monophysites. About the middle of the preceding century, a little insignificant church, that acknowleged the jurisdiction of the pope, was erected among the Nestorians, whose patriarchs, successively named Joseph [n], resided in the city of Diarbek. Some of the Armenian provinces embraced the doctrines and discipline of Rome so early as the fourteenth century, under the pontificate of

to the negotiation in question), subjoined to his work, called Moscovia.—See also La Vie du Pere Possevin, par Jean Dorigny, liv. v. p. 351.

[l] Adr. Regenvolscii Histor. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar. lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465.

[m] See Le Quien, tom. i. p. 1274, and tom. iii. p. 1126.—Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. Februar. p. 693.

[n] See Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. par. i. p. 615.—Le Quien, tom. ii. p. 1084.

CENT. XVI. John XXIII., who, in 1318, sent them a Dominican monk to govern their church, with the title and authority of an archbishop. The episcopal seat of this spiritual ruler was first fixed at Soldania, a city in the province of Aderbijan [o]: but was afterwards transferred to Naxivan, where it still remains in the hands of the Dominicans, who alone are admitted to that spiritual dignity [p]. The Armenian churches in Poland, which have embraced the faith of Rome, have also their bishop, who resides at Lemberg [q]. The Georgians and Mingrelians, who were visited by some monks of the Theatin and Capuchin orders, disgusted these missionaries by their ferocity and ignorance, remained inattentive to their counsels, and unmoved by their admonitions; so that their ministry and labors were scarcely attended with any visible fruit [r].

The labors of the Roman missionaries among all these sects, produce little fruit.

XXIII. The pompous accounts which the papal missionaries have given of the vast success of their labors among all these Grecian sects, are equally destitute of candor and truth. It is evident, from testimonies of the best and most respectable authority, that, in some of those countries, they do nothing more than administer clandestine baptism to sick infants who are committed to their care, as they appear in the fictitious character of physicians [s]; and that, in other places, the whole success of their ministry is confined to the assembling of some wretched tribes of indigent converts, whose poverty is the only bond of their attachment to the Romish church, and who, when the papal largesses are suspended or withdrawn, fall from their pretended allegiance to Rome, and

[o] Odor. Raynald. Annal. tom. xv. ad An. 1318. sect. iv.

[p] Le Quien, tom. iii. p. 1362, and 1403.—Clemens Galanus, Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenicæ cum Romanâ, tom. i. p. 527.

[q] Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iii.

[r] Urb. Cerri, Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine.

[s] Urb. Cerri, p. 161.—Gabr. de Chinon, Relations nouvelles du Levant, par. i. c. vi. This Capuchin monk delivers his opinions on many subjects with frankness and candor.

return to the religion of their ancestors [t]. It happens also, from time to time, that a person of distinction, among the Greeks or Orientals, embraces the doctrine of the Latin church, promises obedience to its pontiff, and carries matters so far as to repair to Rome to testify his respectful submission to the apostolic see. But in these obsequious steps the noble converts are almost always moved by avarice or ambition; and, accordingly, upon a change of affairs, when they have obtained their purposes, and have nothing more to expect, they, in general, either suddenly abandon the church of Rome, or express their attachment to it in such ambiguous terms as are only calculated to deceive. Those who, like the Nestorian bishop of Diarbek [u], continue in the profession of the Roman faith, and even transmit it with an appearance of zeal to their posterity, are excited to this perseverance by no other motive than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff. CENT. XVI.

On the other hand, the bishops of Rome are extremely attentive and assiduous in employing all the methods in their power to maintain and extend their dominion among the Christians of the East. For this purpose, they treat, with the greatest lenity and indulgence, the proselytes they have made in those parts of the world, that their yoke may not appear intolerable. They even carry this indulgence so far, as to shew evidently, that they are actuated more by a love of power, than by an attachment to their own doctrines and institutions; for they not only allow the Greek and other eastern proselytes the liberty of retaining the ceremonies of their ancestors (though in direct opposition to the religious service of the

[t] See Chardin's Voyages en Perse, tom. i. ii. iii. of the last edition published in Holland, in 4to; for, in the former editions, all the scandalous transactions of the Roman missionaries among the Armenians, Colchians, Iberians, and Persians, are entirely wanting.—See also Chinon's Relations du Levant, part ii. for the affairs of the Armenians; and Maillet's Description d'Egypte, tom. iii., for an account of the Copts.

[u] Otherwise named Amida and Caramit.

CENT. XVI. church of Rome), and of living in a manner repugnant to the customs and practice of the Latin world; but, what is much more surprising, they suffer the peculiar doctrines, that distinguish the Greeks and Orientals from all other Christian societies, to remain in the public religious books of the proselytes already mentioned, and even to be reprinted at Rome in those which are sent abroad for their use[w]. The truth of the matter seems to be briefly this: at Rome, a Greek, an Armenian, or a Copt, is looked upon as an obedient child, and a worthy member of the church, if he acknowleges the supreme and unlimited power of the Roman pontiff over all the Christian world.

The Maronites.

XXIV. The Maronites who inhabit the mounts Libanus and Anti-Libanus, date their subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff from the time that the Latins carried their hostile arms into Palestine, with a view to make themselves masters of the Holy Land[x]. This subjection however

[w] Assemanus complains (in several passages of his Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.) that even the very books printed at Rome for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, were not corrected or purged from the errors peculiar to these sects; and he looks upon this negligence as the reason of the defection of many Roman converts, and of their return to the bosom of the eastern and Greek churches, to which they originally belonged. —See, on the other hand, the Lettres Choisies de R. Simon, tom. ii. let. xxiii., in which the author pretends to defend this conduct of the Romanists, which some attribute to indolence and neglect, others to artifice and prudence.

[x] The Maronite doctors, and more especially those who reside at Rome, maintain, with the greatest efforts of zeal and argument, that the religion of Rome has always been preserved among them in its purity, and exempt from any mixture of heresy or error. The proof of this assertion has been attempted, with great labor and industry, by Faust. Nairon, in his Dissertatio de Origine, Nomine, ac Religione, Maronitarum, published at Rome in 1679. It was from this treatise, and some other Maronite writers, that De la Roque drew the materials of his discourses concerning the origin of the Maronites, together with the abridgement of their history, which he inserted in the second volume of his Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban. But neither this hypothesis, nor the authorities by which it is supported, have any weight with the most learned men of the Roman

was agreed to, with an express condition, that neither the popes nor their emissaries should pretend to change or abolish any thing which related to the ancient rites, moral precepts, or religious opinions, of CENT. XVI.

church, who maintain, that the Maronites derived their origin from the Monophysites, and adhered to the doctrine of the Monothelites*, until the twelfth century, when they embraced the communion of Rome. See R. Simon, Histoire Critique des Chretiens Orientaux, ch. xiii.—Euseb. Renaudot, Histor. Patriarch. Alexand. in Præfat. iii. 2. in Histor. p. 49. The very learned Assemanus, who was himself a Maronite, steers a middle way between these opposite accounts, in his Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. tom. i., while the matter in debate is left undecided by Mich. le Quien, in his Oriens Christianus, tom. iii., where he gives an account of the Maronite church and its spiritual rulers. —For my own part I am persuaded, that those who consider that all the Maronites have not as yet embraced the faith, or acknowleged the jurisdiction of Rome, will be little disposed to receive with credulity the assertions of certain Maronite priests, who are, after the manner of the Syrians, much addicted to boasting and exaggeration. Certain it is, that there are Maronites in Syria, who still behold the church of Rome with the greatest aversion and abhorrence; and, what is still more remarkable, great numbers of that nation residing in Italy, even under the eye of the pontiff, opposed his authority during the last century, and threw the court of Rome into great perplexity. One body of these non-conforming Maronites retired into the valleys of Piedmont, where they joined the Waldenses; another, above six hundred in number, with a bishop and several ecclesiastics at their head, fled into Corsica, and implored the protection of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the inquisitors. See Urb. Cerri's Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 121. Now may it not be asked here, What could have excited the Maronites in Italy to this public and vigorous opposition to the Roman pontiff, if it be true that their opinions were in all respects conformable to the doctrines and decrees of the church of Rome? This opposition could not have arisen from any thing but a difference in point of doctrine and belief, since the church of Rome allowed, and still allows the Maronites, under its jurisdiction, to retain and perform the religious rites and institutions that have been handed down to them from their ancestors, and to follow the precepts and rules of life to which they have always been accustomed. Compare, with the authors above cited, Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian. tom. i.

* Those who maintained, that, notwithstanding the two natures in Christ, viz. the human and the divine, there was, nevertheless, but one will, which was the divine.

CENT. XVI. this people; so that in reality, among the Maronites, there is nothing to be found that savors of popery, if we except their attachment to the Roman pontiff[y], who is obliged to pay dearly for their friendship; for, as they live in the utmost distress of poverty, under the tyrannical yoke of infidels, the bishop of Rome is under a necessity of furnishing them with such subsidies as may gratify the rapacity of their oppressors, procure a subsistence for their bishop and clergy, provide all things requisite for the support of their churches and the uninterrupted exercise of public worship, and contribute in general to lessen their misery. Besides, the college erected at Rome by Gregory XIII. with a view of instructing the young men, frequently sent from Syria, in the various branches of useful science and sacred erudition, and prepossessing them with an early veneration and attachment for the Roman pontiff, is attended with a very considerable expence. The Maronite patriarch performs his spiritual functions at Canobin, a convent of the monks of St. Antony, on mount Libanus, which is his constant residence. He claims the title of Patriarch of Antioch, and always assumes the name of Peter, as if he seemed desirous of being considered as the successor of that apostle[z].

[y] The reader will do well to consult principally, on this subject, the observations subjoined by Rich. Simon to his French translation of the Italian Jesuit Dandini's Voyage to Mount Libanus, published in 1685. See also Euseb. Renaudot's Historia Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 548.

[z] See Petitqueux, Voyage á Canobin dans le Mont Liban, in the Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iv. p. 252, and tom. viii. p. 355.—La Roque, Voyage de Syrie, tom. ii. p. 10.—Laur. D'Arvieux, Memoires ou Voyages, tom. ii. p. 418.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

The History of the Lutheran Church.

I. THE rise and progress of the Evangelical or Lutheran church, have been already related, so far as they belong to the history of the Reformation. The former title was assumed by that church in consequence of the original design of its founder, which was to restore to its native lustre the Gospel of Christ, that had so long been covered with the darkness of superstition, or, in other words, to place in its proper and true light that important doctrine, which represents salvation as attainable by the merits of Christ alone. Nor did the church, now under consideration, discover any reluctance to an adoption of the name of the great man, whom Providence employed as the honored instrument of its foundation and establishment. A natural sentiment of gratitude to him, by whose ministry the clouds of superstition had been chiefly dispelled, who had destroyed the claims of pride and self-sufficiency, exposed the vanity of confidence in the intercession of saints and martyrs, and pointed out the Son of God as the only proper object of trust to miserable mortals, excited his followers to assume his name, and to call their community the *Lutheran* Church.

CENT. XVI. The commencement of the Lutheran church.

The rise of this church must be dated from that remarkable period, when pope Leo X. drove Martin Luther, with his friends and followers, from the bosom of the Roman hierarchy, by a solemn and violent sentence of excommunication. It began to acquire a

CENT. XVI. regular form, and a considerable degree of stability and consistence, from the year 1530, when the system of doctrine and morality which it had adopted was drawn up and presented to the diet of Augsburg; and it was raised to the dignity of a lawful and complete hierarchy, totally independent of the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in consequence of the treaty concluded at Passau, in 1552, between Charles V. and Maurice elector of Saxony, relating to the religious affairs of the empire.

The sum and substance of its religious doctrine.

II. The great and leading principle of the Lutheran church, is, that the Scriptures are the only source from which we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice; and that these inspired writings are, in all matters that are essential to salvation, so plain, and so easy to be thoroughly understood, that their signification may be learned, without the aid of an expositor, by every person of common sense, who has a competent knowlege of the language in which they are composed. There are, indeed, certain formularies adopted by this church, which contain the principal points of its doctrine, ranged, for the sake of method and perspicuity, in their natural order. But these books have no authority but what they derive from the scriptures of truth, whose sense and meaning they are designed to convey; nor are the Lutheran doctors permitted to interpret or explain these books so as to draw from them any propositions inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God. The Confession of Augsburg, and the annexed Defence of it against the objections of the Roman catholic doctors, may be deemed the chief and the most respectable of these human productions[a]. In the next rank may be placed

☞ [a] When the confession of Augsburg had been presented to the diet of that city, the Roman catholic doctors were employed to refute the doctrines it contained; and this pretended refutation was also read to that august assembly. A reply was immediately drawn up by Melanchthon, and presented to the emperor, who, under the pretext of a pacific spirit, refused to receive it.

the *Articles of Smalcald*[b], as they are commonly called, together with the shorter and larger Catechisms of Luther, calculated for the instruction of youth, and the improvement of persons of riper years. CENT. XVI.

This reply was afterwards published, under the title of Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ; and is the defence of that confession, mentioned by Dr. Mosheim as annexed to it. To speak plainly, Melanchthon's love of peace and concord seems to have carried him beyond what he owed to the truth, in composing this defence of the confession of Augsburg. In that edition of the Defence which some Lutherans (and Chytræus among others) look upon as the most genuine and authentic, Melanchthon makes several strange concessions to the church of Rome; whether through servile fear, excessive charity, or hesitation of mind, I will not pretend to determine. He speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist in the very strongest terms that the catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and adopts those remarkable words of Theophylact, that 'the bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh.' He approves that canon of the mass, in which the priest prays that 'the bread may be changed into the body of Christ.' It is true, that, in some subsequent editions of the defence or apology now under consideration, these obnoxious passages were omitted, and the phraseology, which had given such just offence, was considerably mitigated. There is an ample account of this whole affair, together with a history of the dissensions of the Lutheran church, in the valuable and learned work of Hospinian, entitled, 'Historiæ Sacramentariæ Pars posterior,' p. 199, et seq. These expressions, in Melanchthon's Apologia, will appear still more surprising, when we recollect that, in the course of the debates concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, he, at length, seemed to lean visibly toward the opinions of Bucer and Calvin, and that, after his death, his followers were censured and persecuted in Saxony on this account, under the denomination of Philippists. This shews either that the great man now under consideration changed his opinions, or that he had formerly been seeking union and concord at the expence of truth.

☞ [b] The articles here mentioned were drawn up at Smalcald by Luther, on occasion of a meeting of the protestant electors, princes, and states at that place. They were principally designed to shew how far the Lutherans were disposed to go, in order to avoid a final rupture, and in what sense they were willing to adopt the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist. And though the terms in which these articles are expressed, be somewhat dubious, yet they are much less harsh and disgusting than those used in the Confession, the Apology, and the Form of Concord.

CENT. XVI. To these standard-books most churches add the *Form of Concord;* which, though not universally received, has not, on that account, occasioned any animosity or disunion, as the few points that prevent its being adopted by some churches are of an indifferent nature[c], and do not, in any degree, affect the grand and fundamental principles of true religion[d].

The ceremonies and public worship of the Lutheran church.

III. The form of public worship, and the rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted as a part of it, gave rise to disputes in several places, during the infancy of the Lutheran church. Some were inclined to retain a greater number of the ceremonies and customs that had been so excessively multiplied in the church of Rome, than seemed either lawful or expedient to others. The latter, after the example of the Helvetic reformers, had their views

☞ [c] Dr. Mosheim, like an artful painter, shades those objects in the history of Lutheranism which it is impossible to expose with advantage to a full view. Of this nature was the conduct of the Lutheran doctors in the deliberations relating to the famous Form of Concord here mentioned; a conduct that discovered such an imperious and uncharitable spirit, as would have been more consistent with the genius of the court of Rome than with the principles of a protestant church. The reader who is desirous of an ample demonstration of the truth and justice of this censure, has only to consult the learned work of Rod. Hospinian, entitled, 'Concordia Discors, seu de Origine et Progressu Formulæ Concordiæ Bergensis.' The history of this remarkable production is more amply related in the thirty-ninth and following paragraphs of this first chapter, and in the notes, which the translator has taken the liberty to add there, in order to cast a proper light upon some things that are too interesting to be viewed superficially. In the mean time I shall only observe that the points in the Form of Concord, that prevented its being universally received, are not of such an indifferent nature as Dr. Mosheim seems to imagine. To maintain the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's body, together with its real and peculiar presence in the eucharist, and to exclude from their communion the protestants, who denied these palpable absurdities, was the plan of the Lutheran doctors in composing and recommending the Form of Concord; and this plan can neither be looked upon as a matter of pure indifference, nor as a mark of Christian charity.

[d] See, for an account of the Lutheran confessions of faith, Christ. Kocheri Biblioth. Theologiæ Symbolicæ, p. 114.

entirely turned toward that simplicity and gravity which characterised the Christian worship in the primitive times; while the former were of opinion, that some indulgence was to be shewn to the weakness of the multitude, and some regard paid to institutions that had acquired a certain degree of weight through long established custom. But, as these contending parties were both persuaded that the ceremonial part of religion was, generally speaking, a matter of human institution, and that consequently a diversity of external rites might be admitted among different churches professing the same religion, without any prejudice to the bonds of charity and fraternal union, these disputes could not be of any long duration. In the mean time, all those ceremonies and observances of the church of Rome, whether of a public or private nature, that carried palpable marks of error and superstition, were every where rejected without hesitation; and wise precautions were used to regulate the forms of public worship in such a manner, that the genuine fruits of piety should not be choked by a multitude of insignificant rites. Besides, every church was allowed to retain so much of the ancient form of worship as might be still observed without giving offence, and as seemed suited to the character of the people, the genius of the government, and the nature and circumstances of the place where it was founded. Hence it has happened, that, even so far down as the present times, the Lutheran churches differ considerably one from another, with respect both to the number and nature of their religious ceremonies; a circumstance so far from tending to their dishonor, that it is, on the contrary, a very striking proof of their wisdom and moderation[e].

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IV. The supreme civil rulers of every Lutheran state are clothed also with the dignity, and perform

Concerning the visible head, and the form of government of the Lutheran church.

[e] See Balth. Meisnerius, Lib. de Legibus, lib. iv. art. iv. quæst. iv.—Jo. Adam Scherzerus, Breviar. Hulsemann. Enucl. p. 1313—1321.

CENT. XVI. the functions of supremacy in the church. The very essence of civil government seems manifestly to point out the necessity of investing the sovereign with this spiritual supremacy [f], and the tacit consent of the Lutheran churches has confirmed the dictates of wise policy in this respect. It must not, however, be imagined, that the ancient rights and privileges of the people in ecclesiastical affairs have been totally abolished by this constitution of things, since it is certain, that the vestiges of the authority exercised by them in the primitive times, though more striking in one place than in another, are yet more or less visible every where. Besides, it must be carefully remembered, that all civil rulers of the Lutheran persuasion are effectually restrained, by the fundamental principles of the doctrine they profess, from any attempts to change or destroy the established rule of faith and manners, to make any alteration in the essential doctrines of their religion, or in any thing that is intimately connected with them, or to impose their particular opinions upon their subjects in a despotic and arbitrary manner.

The councils, or societies, appointed by the sovereign to watch over the interests of the church, and to govern and direct its affairs, are composed of persons conversant both in civil and ecclesiastical law, and, according to a very ancient denomination, are called *Consistories*. The internal government of the Lutheran church seems equally removed from episcopacy on the one hand, and from presbyterianism on the other, if we except the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, which retain the form of ecclesiastical government that preceded the reformation, purged,

☞ [f] Since nothing is more inconsistent with that subordination and concord, which are among the great ends of civil government, than *imperium in imperio*, i. e. two independent sovereignties in the same body politic, the genius of government, equally with the spirit of genuine Christianity, proclaims the equity of that constitution, which makes the head of the state the supreme visible ruler of the church.

indeed, from the superstitions and abuses that rendered it so odious [5]. This constitution of the hierarchy of the Lutherans will not seem surprising, when their sentiments with respect to ecclesiastical polity are duly considered. On the one hand, they are persuaded that there is no law, of divine authority, which points out a distinction between the ministers of the Gospel, in rank, dignity, or prerogatives; and therefore they recede from episcopacy. But, on the other hand, they are of opinion, that a certain subordination, a diversity in point of rank and privileges among the clergy, are not only highly useful, but also necessary to the perfection of church communion, by connecting more closely, in consequence of a mutual dependence, the members of the same body; and thus they avoid the uniformity of the presbyterian government. They do not, however, agree with respect to the extent of this subordination, and the degrees of superiority and precedence that ought to distinguish their doctors; for, in some places, this is regulated with much more regard to the ancient rules of church-government, than is discovered in others. As the divine law is silent on this head, different opinions may be entertained, and different forms of ecclesiastical polity adopted, without a breach of Christian charity and fraternal union.

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V. Every country has its own liturgies, which are the rules of proceeding in every thing that relates to external worship and the public exercise of religion. These rules, however, are not of an immutable nature, like those institutions which bear the stamp of a

The Lutheran liturgies, public worship, and method of instructing.

☞ [5] In these two kingdoms the church is ruled by bishops and superintendants, under the inspection and authority of the sovereign. The archbishop of Upsal is primate of Sweden, and the only archbishop among the Lutherans. The luxury and licentiousness that too commonly flow from the opulence of the Roman catholic clergy are unknown in these two northern states, since the revenues of the prelate now mentioned do not amount to more than 400 pounds yearly, while those of the bishops are proportionally small.

CENT. XVI. divine authority, but may be augmented, corrected, or illustrated, by the order of the sovereign, when such changes evidently appear to be necessary or expedient. The liturgies used in the different countries that have embraced the system of Luther, agree perfectly in all the essential branches of religion, in all matters that can be looked upon as of real moment and importance; but they differ widely in many things of an indifferent nature, concerning which the Scriptures are silent, and which compose that part of the public religion that derives its authority from the wisdom and appointment of men. Assemblies for the celebration of divine worship meet every where at stated times. Here the Scriptures are read publicly, prayers and hymns are addressed to the Deity, the sacraments are administered, and the people are instructed in the knowlege of religion, and excited to the practice of virtue by the discourses of their ministers. The wisest methods are used for the religious education of youth, who are not only carefully instructed in the elements of Christianity in the public schools, but are also examined by the pastors of the churches to which they belong, in a public manner, in order to the progressive extension of their knowlege, and the more vigorous exertion of their faculties in the study of divine truth. Hence, in almost every province, catechisms, containing the essential truths of religion and the main precepts of morality, are published and recommended by the authority of the sovereign, as rules to be followed by the masters of schools, and by the ministers of the church, both in their private and public instructions. But, as Luther left behind him an accurate and judicious production of this kind, in which the fundamental principles of religion and morality are explained and confirmed with the greatest perspicuity and force, both of evidence and expression, this compendious catechism of that eminent reformer is universally adopted as the first introduction to religious knowlege, and is one of the standard-books

of that church which bears his name; and, indeed, all the provincial catechisms are no more than illustrations and enlargements of this excellent abridgement of faith and practice.

The holidays, and ecclesiastical discipline of the Lutheran church.

VI. Among the days deemed sacred in the Lutheran church (beside that which is celebrated every week in memory of Christ's resurrection from the dead), we may reckon all such as were signalised by those glorious and important events that proclaimed the celestial mission of the Saviour, and the divine authority of his holy religion [h]. For these sacred festivals, the grateful and well-grounded piety of ancient times had always professed the highest veneration. But the Lutheran church has gone yet farther; and, to avoid giving offence to weak brethren, has retained several which seemed to have derived the respect that is paid to them, rather from the suggestions of superstition than from the dictates of true religion. There are some churches that carry the desire of multiplying festivals so far, as to observe religiously the days formerly set apart for celebrating the memory of the twelve apostles.

It is well known, that the power of *excommunication*, i. e. of banishing from its bosom obstinate and scandalous transgressors, was a privilege enjoyed and exercised by the church from the remotest antiquity; and it is no less certain, that this privilege was often perverted to the most iniquitous and odious purposes. The founders of the Lutheran church, therefore, undertook to remove the abuses and corruptions under which this branch of ecclesiastical discipline labored, and to restore it to its primitive purity and vigor. At first their attempt seemed to be crowned with success, since it is plain, that, during the sixteenth century, no opposition of any moment was made to the wise and moderate exercise of this spiritual authority. But, in process of time,

[h] Such (for example) are the nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God; the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of pentecost, &c.

CENT. XVI. this privilege fell imperceptibly into contempt; the terror of excommunication lost its force; and ecclesiastical discipline was reduced to such a shadow, that, in most places, there are scarcely any remains or traces of it at this day. This change may be partly attributed to the corrupt propensities of mankind, who are naturally desirous of destroying the influence of every institution that is designed to curb their licentious passions. It must, however, be acknowleged, that the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline was not owing to this cause alone; other circumstances concurred to diminish the respect and submission that had been paid to the spiritual tribunal. On one hand, the clergy abused this important privilege in various ways; some misapplying the severity of excommunication through ignorance or imprudence, while others impiously perverted an institution, in itself exceedingly useful, to satisfy their private resentments, and to avenge themselves upon those who had dared to offend them. On the other hand, the counsels of certain persons in power, who considered the privilege of excommunicating in the hands of the clergy as derogatory from the majesty of the sovereign, and detrimental to the interests of civil society, had no small influence in bringing this branch of spiritual jurisdiction into disrepute. It is however certain, that whatever causes may have contributed to produce this effect, the effect itself was much to be lamented, as it removed one of the most powerful restraints upon iniquity. Nor will it appear surprising, when this is duly considered, that the manners of the Lutherans are so remarkably depraved, and that, in a church which is almost deprived of all authority and discipline, multitudes affront the public by their audacious irregularities, and transgress, with a shameless impudence, through the prospect of impunity.

Of the prosperous and calamitous events that happened to the Lutheran church.

VII. The prosperous and unfavorable events which belong to the history of the Lutheran church, since the happy establishment of its liberty and indepen-

dence, are neither numerous nor remarkable, and may consequently be mentioned in a few words. The rise and progress of this church, before its final and permanent establishment, have been already related; but that very religious peace, which was the instrument of its stability and independence, set bounds, at the same time, to its progress in the empire, and prevented it effectually from extending its limits [i]. Near the close of this century, Gebhard, archbishop of Cologne, evinced a wish to enter into its communion, and, having contracted the bonds of matrimony, formed the design of introducing the reformation into his dominions. But this arduous attempt, which was in direct contradiction to the famous ecclesiastical reservation [k] stipulated in the articles of the peace of religion concluded at Augsburg, proved abortive; and the prelate was obliged to resign his dignity, and to abandon his country [l]. On the other hand, it is certain, that the adversaries of the Lutheran church were not permitted to disturb its tranquillity, or to hurt, in any essential point, its liberty, prosperity, and independence. Their intentions, indeed, were malignant enough; and it appeared evident, from many striking circumstances, that they were secretly projecting a new attack upon the protestants with a view to annul the treaty of Passau,

☞ [i] The reason of this will be seen in the following note.

☞ [k] In the diet of Augsburg, which was assembled in 1555, in order to execute the treaty of Passau, those states which had already embraced the Lutheran religion, were confirmed in the full enjoyment of their religious liberty. To prevent, however, as far as was possible, the progress of the reformation, Charles V. stipulated for the catholics the famous ecclesiastical reservation, by which it was decreed, that if any archbishop, prelate, bishop, or other ecclesiastic, should, in time to come, renounce the faith of Rome, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, and his place be filled by that chapter or college which possessed the power of election.

[l] See Jo. Dav. Koleri Dissertatio de Gebhardo Truchsessio —Jo. Pet. à Ludewig Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum omnis Ævi, tom. v. p. 383.—See also a German work entitled Unschuldige Nachrichten, An. 1748. p. 484.

CENT. XVI. and to have them declared public enemies to the empire. Such was undoubtedly the unjust and seditious design of Francis Burckhard, in composing the famous book *de Autonomiâ*, which was published in 1586; and also of Pistorius, in drawing up the reasons, which the margrave of Baden alleged in vindication of his returning from Lutheranism into the bosom of popery [m]. These writers, and others of the same stamp, treated the Religious Peace, negotiated at Passau, and ratified at Augsburg, as unjust, because it was obtained by force of arms, and as null, because concluded without the knowlege and consent of the Roman pontiff. They pretended also to prove, that by the changes and interpolations, which they affirmed to have been made by Melanchthon, in the confession of Augsburg, after it had been presented to the diet, the protestants forfeited all the privileges and advantages derived from the treaty now mentioned. The latter accusation gave rise to long and warm debates during this and the following century. Many learned and ingenious productions were published on that occasion, in which the Lutheran divines proved, with the utmost perspicuity and force of argument, that the Confession was preserved in their church in its original state, uncorrupted by any mixture, and that none of their brethren had ever departed in any instance from the doctrines contained in it [n]. They who felt most sensibly the bitter and implacable hatred of the papists against the doctrine

[m] See Chr. Aug. Salig. Histor. August. Confessionis, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 767.

[n] See Salig. Hist. August. Confessionis, tom. i.—It cannot indeed be denied, that Melanchthon corrected and altered some passages of the Confession of Augsburg. It is certain, that, in 1555, he made use of the extraordinary credit and influence he then had, to introduce among the Saxon churches an edition of that confession, which was so far corrected as to be, upon the whole, very different from the original one. But his conduct in this step, which was extremely audacious, or at least highly imprudent, never received the approbation of the Lutheran church, nor was the Augsburg Confession, in this new shape, ever admitted as one of the standard-books of its faith and doctrine.

and worship of the Lutheran church (which they disdainfully called the *new religion*), were such members of that church as lived in the territories of Roman-catholic princes. This is more especially true of the protestant subjects of the house of Austria [o], who experienced, in the most affecting manner, the dire effects of bigotry and superstition seated on a throne, and who lost the greatest part of their liberty before the conclusion of this century. CENT. XVI.

VIII. While the votaries of Rome were thus meditating the ruin of the Lutheran church, and exerting, for this purpose, all the powers of secret artifice and open violence, the followers of Luther were assiduously bent on defeating their efforts, and left no means unemployed, that seemed proper to maintain their own doctrine, and to strengthen their cause. The calamities which they had suffered were fresh in their remembrance; and hence they were admonished to use all possible precautions to prevent their falling again into the like unhappy circumstances. Add, to this, the zeal of princes and men in power for the advancement of true religion, which, it must be acknowleged, was much greater in this century, than it is in the times in which we live. Hence the original confederacy that had been formed among the German princes for the maintenance of Lutheranism, and of which the elector of Saxony was the chief, gradually acquired new strength; and foreign sovereigns, particularly those of Sweden and Denmark, were invited to enter into this grand alliance; and, as it was universally agreed, that the stability and lustre of the rising church depended much on the learning of its ministers, and the progress of the sciences, among those in general who professed its doctrines, so the greatest part of the confederate princes promoted, with the utmost zeal, The state of learning among the Lutherans.

[o] See the Austria Evangelica of the learned Raupachius, tom. i. p. 152, tom. ii. p. 287.

CENT. XVI. the culture of letters, and banished, wherever their salutary influence could extend, that baneful ignorance which is the parent of superstition. The academical institutions founded by the Lutherans, at Jena, Helmstadt, and Altorf, and by the Calvinists at Franeker, Leyden, and other places; the ancient universities reformed and accommodated to the constitution and exigences of a purer church than that under whose influence they had been at first established; the great number of schools that were opened in almost every city; the ample rewards, together with the distinguished honors and privileges that were bestowed on men of learning and genius; all these circumstances bear honorable testimony to the generous zeal of the German princes for the advancement of useful knowlege. These noble establishments were undoubtedly expensive, and required large funds for their support. These were principally drawn from the revenues and possessions, which the piety or superstition of ancient times had consecrated to the multiplication of convents, the erection or embellishment of churches, and other religious uses.

The study of Belles Lettres and languages promoted.

IX. These generous and zealous efforts in the cause of learning were attended with remarkable success. Almost all the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with emulation, and brought to greater degrees of perfection. All those, whose views were turned to the service of the church, were obliged to apply themselves, with diligence and assiduity, to the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin literature, in order to qualify them for performing, with dignity and success, the duties of the sacred function; and it is well known that in these branches of erudition several Lutheran doctors excelled in such a manner, as to acquire a deathless name in the republic of letters. Melanchthon, Cario, Chytræus, Reineccius, and others, were eminent for their knowlege of history. More particularly Matthias Flacius, one of the

authors of the Centuriæ Magdeburgenses * (an immortal work that restored to the light of evidence and truth the facts relating to the rise and progress of the Christian church, which had been covered with thick darkness, and corrupted by innumerable fables), may be deservedly considered as the parent of ecclesiastical history. Nor should we omit mentioning the learned Martin Chemnitz, to whose Examination of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, the history of religion is more indebted, than many, at this day, are apt to imagine. While so many branches of learning were cultivated with zeal, some, it must be confessed, were too little pursued. Among these we may place the history of literature and philosophy, the important science of criticism, the study of antiquities, and other objects of erudition connected with them. It is, however, to be observed, that, notwithstanding the neglect with which these branches of science seemed too generally to be treated, the foundations of their culture and improvement in future ages were really laid in this century. On the other hand, it is remarkable that Latin eloquence and poetry were carried to a very high degree of improvement, and exhibited orators and poets of the first order; from which circumstance alone it may be fairly concluded, that, if all the branches of literature and philosophy were not brought to that pitch of perfection, of which they were susceptible, this was not owing to the want of industry or genius, but rather to the restraints imposed upon genius by the infelicity of the times. All the votaries of science, whom a noble emulation excited to the pursuit of literary fame, were greatly animated by the example, the influence, and the instructions of Melanchthon, who was deservedly considered as the great and leading

CENT. XVI.

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CENT. XVI. doctor of the Lutheran church, and whose sentiments, relating both to sacred and profane erudition, were so generally respected, that scarcely any had the courage to oppose them. In the next rank to this eminent reformer may be mentioned Joachim Camerarius of Leipsic, a shining ornament to the republic of letters in this century, who, by his zeal and application, contributed much to promote the cause of universal learning, and more especially the study of elegant literature.

The various fate of philosophy among the Lutherans.

X. The revolutions of philosophy among the Lutheran doctors were many and various. Luther and Melanchthon seemed to set out with a resolution to banish every species of philosophy [p] from the church; and, though it is impossible to justify entirely this part of their conduct, they are less to be blamed than those scholastic doctors whose barbarous method of teaching philosophy was extremely disgusting, and who, by a miserable abuse of the subtile precepts of Aristotle, had perverted the dictates of common sense, and introduced the greatest obscurity and confusion both into philosophy and religion. But, though these abuses led the two great men now mentioned too far, and were carrying them into the opposite extreme, their own recollection suspended their precipitation, and they both perceived, before it was too late, that true philosophy was necessary to restrain the licentious flights of mere genius and fancy, and to guard the sanctuary of religion against the inroads of superstition and enthusiasm [q]. It was

[p] See Christ. Aug. Heumanni Acta Philosophor. art. ii. part x. p. 579.—Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, Dissertat. de Variâ Aristotelis Fortunâ in Scholis Protestantium, which Launoy has prefixed to his book, de Fortunâ Aristotelis in Academiâ Parisiensi, sect. viii. xiii.

☞ [q] Some writers, either through malignity, or for want of better information, have pretended that Luther rejected the scholastic philosophy through a total ignorance of its nature and precepts. Those who have ventured upon such an assertion must have been as ignorant of the history of literature in general, as of the industry and erudition of Luther in particular. For a demonstrative proof of this, see Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiæ, tom. iv. part i.

in consequence of this persuasion that Melanchthon composed, in a plain and familiar style, abridgements of almost all the branches of philosophy which, during many years, were explained publicly to the studious youth in all the Lutheran academies and schools of learning. This celebrated reformer may not improperly be considered as an *eclectic*; for, though in many points he followed Aristotle, and retained some degree of propensity to the ancient philosophy of the schools, yet he drew many things from the fecundity of his own genius, and often had recourse also to the doctrines of the Platonists and Stoics. CENT. XVI.

XI. This method of teaching philosophy, however recommendable on account of its simplicity and perspicuity, did not long enjoy, alone and unrivaled, the great credit and authority which it had obtained. Certain acute and subtile doctors, having perceived that Melanchthon, in composing his Abridgements, had discovered a peculiar and predominant attachment to the philosophy of Aristotle, thought it was better to go to the source, than to drink at the stream, and therefore read and explained to their disciples the works of the Stagirite. On the other hand, it was observed, that the Jesuits, and other votaries of Rome, artfully made use of the ambiguous terms and the intricate sophistry of the ancient schoolmen, in order to puzzle the protestants, and to reduce them to silence, when they particularly wished for such arguments as were calculated to produce conviction; and, therefore, many protestant doctors thought it might be advantageous to their cause to have the studious youth instructed in the mysteries of the Aristotelian philosophy, as it was taught in the schools, that thus they might be qualified to defend themselves with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Hence there arose, in the latter part of this century, three philosophical sects, the Melanchthonian, the Aristotelian, and the Scholastic. The first declined gradually, and soon disappeared: but the other two imperceptibly grew into one, acquired Philosophical sect. Aristotelians and Ramæans.

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new vigor by this coalition, increased daily in reputation and influence, and were adopted in all the schools of learning. It is true, that the followers of Ramus made violent inroads, in several places, upon the territories of these combined sects, and sometimes with a certain appearance of success; but their hopes were transitory; for after various struggles they were obliged to yield, and were at length entirely banished from the schools [r].

The Paracelsists, or Fire-Philosophers.

XII. Such also was the fate of the disciples of Paracelsus, who, from the grand principle of their physical system, were called *Fire-Philosophers* [s], and who aimed at nothing less than the total subversion of the peripatetic philosophy, and the introduction of their own reveries into the public schools. Toward the close of this century, the Paracelsists really made a figure in almost all the countries of Europe, as their sect was patronised and supported by the genius and eloquence of several great men, who exerted themselves, with the utmost zeal and assiduity, in its cause, and endeavoured, both by their writings and their transactions, to augment its credit. In England it found an eminent defender in Robert Flood, or Fludd, a man of a very singular genius [t], who

[r] Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, de Fatis Aristot. in Scholis Protest. sect. xxi.—Jo. Georg. Walchius, Historia Logices, lib. ii. cap. i. —Otto Fred. Schutzius, de Vitâ Chytræi, lib. iv. sect. iv.

☞ [s] This fanatical sect of philosophers had several denominations. They were called Theo-Sophists, from their declaiming against human reason as a dangerous and deceitful guide, and their representing a divine and supernatural illumination as the only means of arriving at truth. They were called *Philosophi per ignem*, i. e. Fire-Philosophers, from their maintaining that the intimate essences of natural things were only to be known by the trying efforts of fire, directed in a chemical process. They were, lastly, denominated Paracelsists, from the eminent physician and chemist of that name, who was the chief ornament and leader of that extraordinary sect.

☞ [t] The person here mentioned by Dr. Mosheim is not the famous Dominican monk of that name, who, from his ardent pursuit of mathematical knowlege, was called the Seeker, and who, from his passion for chemistry, was suspected of magic, but a famous physician born in Kent, in 1574, who was very

illustrated, or at least attempted to illustrate, the philosophy of Paracelsus, in a great number of treatises, which, even in our times, are not entirely destitute of readers and admirers. The same philosophy found some votaries in France, and was propagated with zeal at Paris by Rivier, in opposition to the sentiments and efforts of the university of that city [u]. Its cause was industriously promoted in Denmark, by Severinus [w]; in Germany, by Kunrath, an eminent physician at Dresden, who died in 1605 [x]; and in other countries by a considerable number of warm votaries, who were by no means unsuccessful in augmenting its reputation, and multiplying its followers. As all these heralds of the new philosophy accompanied their instructions with a striking air of piety and devotion, and seemed, in propagating their strange system, to propose to themselves no other end than the advancement of the divine glory, and the restoration of peace and concord to a divided church, a motive which, in appearance, was so generous and noble, could not fail to procure friends and protectors. Accordingly, we find, that, near the close of this century, several persons, eminent for their piety, and distinguished by their zeal for the advancement of true religion, joined themselves to this sect. Of this number were the Lutheran doctors Weigelius, Arndius, and others, who were led into the snare by their ill-grounded notions of human reason, and who apprehended that controversy and argumentation might lead men to substitute anew the pompous and intricate jargon of the schools in the place of solid and sincere piety.

The controversy between Hoffman and his colleagues.

XIII. Among those who manifested a propensity toward the system of the Paracelsists, or Theoso-

remarkable for his attachment to the alchemists. See Wood's Athen. Oxoniens. vol. i. p. 610, and his Hist. et Antiq. Acad. Oxoniens. lib. ii. p. 390; also P. Gassendi, Examen Philosoph. Fluddanæ, tom. iii. op.

[u] Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. vi.

[w] Jo. Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. i. p. 623.

[x] Cimb. Lit. tom. ii. p. 440.

CENT. XVI. phists, was the celebrated Daniel Hoffman, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt, who, from the year 1598, had declared open war against philosophy, and who continued to oppose it with the greatest obstinacy and violence. Alleging the weight and authority of some opinions of Luther, and of various passages in the writings of that great man, he extravagantly maintained, that philosophy was the mortal enemy of religion; that truth was divisible into two branches, one philosophical and the other theological; and that what was true in philosophy, was false in theology. These absurd and pernicious tenets naturally alarmed the judicious doctors of the university, and excited a warm controversy between Hoffman and his colleagues Owen Guntherus, Cornelius Martin, John Caselius, and Duncan Liddel; a controversy also of too much consequence to be confined within such narrow bounds, and which accordingly was carried on in other countries with the same fervor. The tumults which it excited in Germany were appeased by the interposition of Henry, duke of Brunswick, who, having made a careful inquiry into the nature of this debate, and consulted the professors of the academy of Rostoch on that subject, commanded Hoffman to retract publicly the invectives he had thrown out against philosophy in his writings and in his academical lectures, and to acknowlege, in the most open manner, the harmony and union of sound philosophy with true and genuine theology [y].

The science of theology corrected and improved.

XIV. The theological system that now prevails in the Lutheran academies, is not of the same tenor or

[y] There is an accurate account of this controversy, with an enumeration of the writings published on both sides of the question, in the life of Owen Guntherus, inserted by Mollerus in his Cimbria Literata, tom. i. p. 225.—See also Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, de Fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestant. sect. xxvii., and a German work, by Gottfried Arnold, upon the affairs of the church and the progress of heresy, entitled, Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, p. 947.

spirit with that which was adopted in the infancy of the Reformation. As time and experience are necessary to bring all things to perfection, so the doctrine of the Lutheran church changed, imperceptibly and by degrees, its original form, and was improved and perfected in many respects. This will appear both evident and striking to those who are acquainted with the history of the doctrines relating to free-will, predestination, and other points, and who compare the Lutheran systems of divinity of an earlier date, with those which have been composed in modern times. The case could not well be otherwise. The glorious defenders of religious liberty, to whom we owe the various blessings of the Reformation, as they were conducted only by the suggestions of their natural sagacity, whose advances in the pursuit of knowlege are gradual and progressive, could not at once behold the truth in all its lustre, and in all its extent; but, as usually happens to persons who have been long accustomed to the darkness of ignorance, their approaches toward knowlege were slow, and their views of things very imperfect. The Lutherans were greatly assisted both in correcting and illustrating the articles of their faith, partly by the controversies which they were obliged to carry on with the Roman-catholic doctors and the disciples of Zuingle and Calvin, and partly by the intestine divisions that prevailed among themselves, of which an account shall be given in this chapter. They have been absurdly reproached, on account of this variation in their doctrine, by Bossuet and other papal writers, who did not consider that the founders of the Lutheran church never pretended to divine inspiration, and that it is by discovering first the errors of others, that the wise generally prepare themselves for the investigation of truth. CENT. XVI.

XV. The first and principal object that drew the attention and employed the industry of the reformers, was the exposition and illustration of the sacred writings, which, according to the doctrine of the The state of exegetic theology.

CENT. XVI. Lutheran church, contain all the treasures of celestial wisdom, all things that relate to faith and practice. Hence it happened, that the number of commentators and expositors among the Lutherans equaled that of the eminent and learned doctors who adorned that communion. At the head of all, Luther and Melanchthon are undoubtedly to be placed; the former, on account of the sagacity and learning, discovered in his explications of several portions of Scripture, and particularly of the books of Moses, and the latter, in consequence of his commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, and other learned labors of that kind, which are abundantly known. A second class of expositors, of the same communion, obtained also great applause in the learned world, by their successful application to the study of the Scriptures. In this class we may rank Matthias Flacius, who composed a Glossary and Key to the sacred Writings [z], very useful in unfolding the meaning of the inspired penmen; John Bugenhagius, Justus Jonas, Andrew Osiander, and Martin Chemnitz, whose Harmonies of the Evangelists are not destitute of merit; and to these we may add Victor Strigelius and Joachim Camerarius; of whom the latter, in his Commentary on the New Testament, expounds the Scriptures in a grammatical and critical manner only, and, laying aside all debated points of doctrine and religious controversy, unfolds the sense of each term, and the spirit of each phrase, by the rules of criticism and the genius of the ancient languages, in which he was a very uncommon proficient.

The respective merits of the sacred interpreters.

XVI. All these expositors and commentators abandoned the method of the ancient interpreters, who, neglecting the plain and evident purport of the words of Scripture, were perpetually torturing their imaginations, in order to find out a mysterious sense in each word or sentence, or were hunting after insipid allusions and chimerical applications of parti-

[z] The Latin titles are *Glossa Scripturæ Sacræ*, and *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*.

cular passages to objects which never entered into the views of the inspired writers. On the contrary, their principal zeal and industry were employed in investigating the natural force and signification of each expression, in consequence of that golden rule of interpretation which Luther inculcated, '*that there is only one sense annexed to the words of Scripture throughout all the books of the Old and New Testament*'[a]. It must, however, be acknowleged, that the examples exhibited by these judicious expositors were far from being universally followed. Many, laboring under the inveterate disease of an irregular fancy and a scanty judgement, were still seeking hidden significations and double meanings in the expressions of holy writ. They were perpetually busied in twisting all the prophecies of the Old Testament into an intimate connexion with the life, sufferings, and transactions of Jesus Christ; and were over-sagacious in pretending to find out, in the history of the patriarchal and Jewish churches, the types and figures of the events that have happened in modern, and which may yet happen in future times. In all this they discovered more imagination than judgement, more wit than wisdom. Be that as it may, all the expositors of this age may, I think, be properly divided into two classes, with Luther at the head of the one, and Melanchthon presiding in the other. Some commentators followed the example of the former, who, after a familiar explication of the sense of Scripture, applied its decisions to the settlement of controverted points, and to the illustration of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others discovered a greater propensity to the method of the latter, who first divided the discourses of the sacred writers into several parts, explained them according to the rules of rhetoric, and afterwards proceeded to a more strict and almost a literal exposition of each

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[a] This golden rule will be found often defective and false, unless several prophetical, parabolical, and figurative expressions be excepted in its application.

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part, taken separately, applying the result, as rarely as was possible, to points of doctrine or matters of controversy.

Didactic theology or doctrine of the Lutheran church.

XVII. Complete systems of theology were far from being numerous in this century. Melanchthon, the most eminent of all the Lutheran doctors, collected and digested the doctrines of the church, which he so eminently adorned, into a body of divinity, under the vague title of *Loci Communes*, i. e. a Common-Place-Book of Theology. This compilation, which was at different times reviewed, corrected, and enlarged by its author, was in such high repute during this century, and even in succeeding times, that it was considered as a model of doctrine for all those, who either instructed the people by their public discourses, or promoted the knowlege of religion by their writings [b]. The title prefixed to this performance, indicates sufficiently the method, or rather the irregularity that reigns in the arrangement of its materials; and shews, that it was not the design of Melanchthon to place the various truths of religion in that systematic concatenation, and that scientific order and connexion, which are observed by the philosophers in their demonstrations and discourses, but to propose them with freedom and simplicity, as they presented themselves to his view. Accordingly, in the earlier editions of the book under consideration, the method observed, both in delineating and illustrating these important truths, is exceedingly plain, and not loaded with the terms, the definitions, or the distinctions that abound in the writings of the philosophers. Thus did the Lutheran doctors, in the first period of the rising church, renounce and avoid, in imitation of the great reformer whose name they bore, all the abstruse reasoning, and subtile discussions, of the scholastic disputants and writers. But the sophistry of their adversaries, and their perpetual debates with the artful champions of the church of

[b] See Jo. Franc. Buddeus, Isagoge ad Theologiam, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. xiii. tom. i. p. 381.

Rome, engaged them by degrees, as has been already observed, to change their language and their methods of reasoning; so that, in process of time, the simplicity that had reigned in their theological systems, and in their manner of explaining the truths of religion, almost totally disappeared. Even Melanchthon himself fell imperceptibly into the new method, or rather into the old method revived, and enlarged the subsequent editions of his *Loci Communes*, by the addition of several philosophical illustrations, calculated to expose the fallacious reasonings of the Romish doctors. As yet, however, the discussions of philosophy were sparingly used, and the unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen was kept at a certain distance, and seldom borrowed. But when the founders of the Lutheran church were removed by death, and the Jesuits attacked the principles of the Reformation with redoubled animosity, armed with the intricate and perplexing dialect of the schools, the scene was changed, and theology assumed another aspect. The stratagem employed by the Jesuits corrupted our doctors, induced them to revive that intricate and abstruse manner of defending and illustrating religious truth, which Luther and his associates had rejected, and to introduce, into the plain and artless paths of theology, all the thorns and thistles, all the dark and devious labyrinths of the scholastic philosophy. This unhappy change was deeply lamented by several divines of eminent piety and learning about the commencement of the seventeenth century, who regretted the loss of that amiable simplicity which is the attendant on divine truth; but they could not prevail upon the professors, in the different universities, to sacrifice the jargon of the schools to the dictates of common sense, or to return to the plain, serious, and unaffected method of teaching theology, that had been introduced by Luther. These obstinate doctors pleaded necessity in behalf of their scholastic divinity, and looked upon this pretended necessity

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CENT. XVI. as superior to all authorities, and all examples, however respectable.

The state of morality among the Lutherans.

XVIII. Those who are sensible of the intimate connexion between faith and practice, between the truths and duties of religion, will easily perceive the necessity that existed for a reformation of the corrupt morality, as well as of the superstitious doctrines, of the church of Rome. It is therefore natural, that the same persons, who had spirit enough to do the one, should think themselves obliged to attempt the other. This they accordingly attempted, and not without a certain degree of success; for it may be affirmed with truth, that more genuine piety and more excellent rules of conduct are observable in the few practical productions of Luther, Melanchthon, Weller, and Rivius, than are to be found in the innumerable volumes of all the ancient Casuists and Moralisers [c], as they are called in the barbarous language of those remote periods. It is not, however, meant even to insinuate, that the notions of these great men concerning the important science of morality were either sufficiently accurate or extensive. It appears on the contrary, from the various debates which were carried on during this century, concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, and from the answers that were given by famous casuists to persons perplexed with religious scruples, that the true *principles* of morality were not yet fixed with perspicuity and precision, the agreement or difference between the laws of nature and the precepts of Christianity not sufficiently examined and determined, nor the proper distinctions made between those parts of the gospel dispensation, which are agreeable to right reason, and such as are beyond its reach and comprehension. Had not the number of adversaries, with whom the Lutheran doctors were

[c] The moral writers of this century were called *Moralisantes*, a barbarous term, to which the English word *Moralisers* bears some resemblance.

obliged to contend, given them perpetual employment in the field of controversy, and robbed them of that precious leisure which they might have consecrated to the advancement of real piety and virtue, they would certainly have been free from the defects now mentioned, and would, perhaps, have equaled the best moral writers of modern times. This consideration will also diminish our wonder at a circumstance, which otherwise might seem surprising, that none of the famous Lutheran doctors attempted to give a regular system of morality. Melanchthon himself, whose exquisite judgement rendered him peculiarly capable of reducing into a compendious system the elements of every science, never seems to have thought of treating morals in this manner; but has inserted, on the contrary, all his practical rules and instructions under the theological articles that relate to the law, sin, free-will, faith, hope, and charity. CENT. XVI.

XIX. All the divines of this century were educated in the school of controversy, and so trained up to spiritual war, that an eminent theologian, and a bold and vehement disputant, were considered as synonymous terms. It could scarcely, indeed, be otherwise, in an age when foreign quarrels and intestine divisions of a religious nature threw all the countries of Europe into a state of agitation, and obliged the doctors of the contending churches to be perpetually in action, or at least in a posture of defence. These champions of the Reformation were not, however, all animated with the same spirit, nor did they attack and defend with the same arms. Such of them as were contemporary with Luther or lived near his time, were remarkable for the simplicity of their reasoning, and attacked their adversaries with no other arguments than those which they drew from the declarations of the inspired writers, and the decisions of the ancient fathers. In the latter part of the century this method was considerably changed; and we see those doctors, who were its chief orna- Polemic or controversial theology.

CENT. XVI. ments, reinforcing their cause with the succours of the Aristotelian philosophy, and thus losing, in point of perspicuity and evidence, what they gained in point of subtilty and imagined science. It is true, as has been already observed more than once, that they were too naturally, though inconsiderately, led to adopt this method of disputing by the example of their adversaries the Roman catholics. The latter, having learned, by a disagreeable and discouraging experience, that their cause was unable to support that plain and perspicuous method of reasoning, which is the proper test of religious and moral truth, had recourse to stratagem, when evidence failed, and involved both their arguments and their opinions in the dark and intricate mazes of the scholastic philosophy; and it was this that engaged the protestant doctors to change their weapons, and to employ methods of defence unworthy of the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

The spirit of zeal, that animated the Lutheran divines, was, in general, very far from being tempered by a spirit of charity. If we except Melanchthon, in whom a predominant mildness and sweetness of natural temper triumphed over the contagious ferocity of the times, all the disputants of this century discovered too much bitterness and animosity in their transactions and in their writings. Luther himself appears at the head of this sanguine tribe, whom he far surpassed in invectives and abuse, treating his adversaries with the most brutal asperity, and sparing neither rank nor condition, however elevated or respectable they might be. It must indeed be confessed, that the criminal nature of this vehemence will be much alleviated, when it is considered in one point of view with the genius of those barbarous times, and the odious cruelty and injustice of the virulent enemies, whom the oppressed reformers were called to encounter. When tial inquirer considers the abominable calu ere lavished on the authors and instr nation; when

he reflects upon the horrors of fire and sword employed, by bigoted and blood-thirsty tyrants, to extirpate those good men whom they wanted arguments to convince; will not his heart burn with a generous indignation? and will he not think it in some measure just, that such horrid proceedings should be represented in their proper colours, and be stigmatised by such expressions as are suited to their demerit?

Three periods must be distinguished in the history of the Lutheran church.

XX. In order to form a just idea of the internal state of the Lutheran church, and of the revolutions and changes which have happened in it, with their true springs and real causes, it is necessary to consider the history of that church under three periods. The first extends from the commencement of the Reformation to the death of Luther, which happened in 1546: the second takes in the time which elapsed between the death of Luther and that of Melanchthon, and consequently terminates in 1560; and the remainder of the century is comprehended in the third period.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

DURING this period, all things were transacted in the Lutheran church in a manner conformable to the sentiments, counsels, and orders of Luther. This eminent reformer, whose undaunted resolution, and amazing credit and authority, rendered him equal to the most arduous attempts, easily suppressed the commotions and dissensions which arose from time to time in the church, and did not suffer the sects, that several had attempted to form in its bosom, to gather strength, or to arrive at any considerable degree of consistence and maturity. The natural consequence of this was, that, during the life of that great man, the internal state of the Lutheran church was a state of tolerable tranquillity and repose; and all such as attempted to foment divisions, or to introduce any essential changes, were either speedily reduced to silence, or obliged to retire from the new community.

CENT. XVI.

Debates between Luther and the Fanatics in the first period.

XXI. The infancy of this church was troubled by an impetuous rabble of wrong-headed fanatics, who introduced the utmost confusion wherever they endeavoured to diffuse their pestilential errors, and who pretended that they had received a divine inspiration, authorising them to erect a new kingdom of Christ, in which sin and corruption were to have no place. The leaders of this turbulent and riotous sect were Munzer, Storck, Stubner, and others, either Swiss or Germans, who kindled the flame of discord and rebellion in several parts of Europe, but chiefly in Germany, and excited among the ignorant multitude tumults and commotions, which, though less violent in some places than in others, were, nevertheless, formidable wherever they appeared[d]. The history of this seditious band is full of obscurity and confusion. A regular, full, and accurate account of it neither has been, nor could well be, committed to writing; since, on one hand, the opinions and actions of these fanatics were a motley chaos of inconsistencies and contradictions, and, on the other, the age, in which they lived, produced few writers who had either the leisure or the capacity to observe with diligence, or to relate with accuracy, commotions and tumults of this extraordinary kind. It is however certain, that, from the most profligate and abandoned part of this enthusiastical multitude, those seditious armies were formed, which kindled in Germany the war of the peasants, and afterwards seized the city of Munster, involving the whole province of Westphalia in the most dreadful calamities. It is also well known, that the better part of this motley tribe, terrified by the unhappy and deserved fate of their unworthy associates, whom they saw massacred with the most unrelenting severity, saved themselves from the ruin of their sect, and, at length, embraced the commu-

[d] John Baptist Ottius, in his Annales Anabaptist., has collected a considerable number of facts relating to these fanatical commotions, which are likewise mentioned by all the writers of the history of the Reformation.

nion of those who are called Mennonites [e]. The zeal, vigilance, and resolution of Luther happily prevented the divisions, which the odious disciples of Munzer attempted to excite in the church he had founded, and preserved the giddy and credulous multitude from their seductions; and it may be safely affirmed, that, had it not been for the vigor and fortitude of this active and undaunted reformer, the Lutheran church would, in its infancy, have fallen a miserable prey to the enthusiastic fury of these detestable fanatics [f]. CENT. XVI.

XXII. Fanatics and enthusiasts of the kind now described, while they met with the warmest opposition from Luther, found, on the contrary, in his colleague Carlostadt, such a credulous attention to their seductions, as naturally flattered them with the hopes of his patronage and favor. This divine, who was a native of Franconia, was not destitute of learning or of merit; but imprudence and precipitation were the distinguished lines of his warm and violent character. Of these he gave the most evident marks, in 1523, when, during the absence of Luther, he excited no small tumult at Wittenberg, by ordering the images to be taken out of the churches, and by other enterprises of a rash and dangerous nature [g]. Carlostadt.

☞ [e] The tumults of the anabaptists in Germany have already been mentioned in a cursory manner, sect. i. chap. ii. sect. xxii. For an ample account of the origin, doctrine, and progress of the Mennonites, see the third chapter of the second part of this third section, cent. xvi.

☞ [f] The danger that threatened the Lutheran church in these tumults of the German anabaptists, was so much the greater on account of the inclination which Munzer and Storck discovered at first for the sentiments of Luther, and the favorable disposition which Carlostadt seemed for some time to entertain with respect to these fanatics.

☞ [g] The reader may perhaps imagine, from Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter, that Carlostadt introduced these changes merely by his own authority; but this was far from being the case; the suppression of private masses, the removal of images out of the churches, the abolition of the law which imposed celibacy upon the clergy, which are the changes hinted at by our historian

CENT. XVI. This tumult was appeased by the sudden return of Luther, whose presence and exhortations calmed the troubled spirits of the people; and here we must look for the origin of the rupture between him and Carlostadt; for the latter immediately retired from Wittenberg to Orlamund, where he not only opposed the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist [h], but also betrayed, in several instances, a fanatical turn of mind [i]. He was therefore commanded to

as rash and perilous, were effected by Carlostadt, in conjunction with Bugenhagius, Melanchthon, Jonas Amsdorff, and others, and were confirmed by the authority of the elector of Saxony; so that there is some reason to apprehend that one of the principal causes of Luther's displeasure at these changes, was their being introduced in his absence; unless we suppose that he had not so far shaken off the fetters of superstition, as to be sensible of the absurdity and the pernicious consequences of the use of images, &c. As to the abolition of the law that imposed celibacy on the clergy, it is well known that it was the object of his warmest approbation. This appears from the following expressions in his letter to Amsdorff: "Carlostadii nuptiæ mire placent: novi puellam: comfortet eum Dominus in bonum exemplum inhibendæ et minuendæ papisticæ libidinis." He soon afterwards confirmed this approbation by his own example.

☞ [h] This difference of opinion betwen Carlostadt and Luther concerning the eucharist, was the true cause of the violent rupture between those two eminent men, and it tended very little to the honor of the latter; for, however the explication, which the former gave of the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, may appear forced, yet the sentiments he entertained of that ordinance as a commemoration of Christ's death, and not as a celebration of his bodily presence, in consequence of a consubstantiation with the bread and wine, are infinitely more rational than the doctrine of Luther, which is loaded with some of the most palpable absurdities of transubstantiation; and if it be supposed that Carlostadt strained the rule of interpretation too far, when he alleged, that Christ pronounced the pronoun *this* (in the words *This is my body*) pointing to his body, and not to the bread, what shall we think of Luther's explaining the nonsensical doctrine of consubstantiation by the similitude of a red-hot iron, in which two elements are united, as the body of Christ is with the bread in the eucharist?

☞ [i] This censure is with too much truth applicable to Carlostadt. Though he did not adopt the impious and abominable doctrines of Munzer and his band (as Dr. Mosheim permits the uninstructed reader to imagine by mentioning him, as being a

leave the territories of the elector of Saxony, which he did accordingly, and repaired to Switzerland, where he propagated his doctrines, and taught with success, first at Zurich, and afterwards at Basil, retaining however, as long as he lived, a favorable disposition toward the sect of the Anabaptists, and, in general, to all enthusiastic teachers, who pretended to a divine inspiration [k]. Thus then did Luther, in CENT. XVI.

friend to these fanatics *in general*), yet he certainly was chargeable with some extravagances that were observable in the tenets of that wrong-headed tribe. He was for abolishing the civil law, with the municipal laws and constitutions of the German empire, and proposed substituting the law of Moses in their place. He distinguished himself by railing at the universities, declaiming against human learning, and other follies.

"Great wits to madness nearly are allied."

See Val. Ern. Loscheri Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat. par. i. cap. i.—Dan. Gerdes, Vita Carolostadii, in Miscell. Groningens. novis.

☞ [k] This affirmation of Dr. Mosheim wants much to be modified. In the original it stands thus: "Dum vixit vero anabaptistarum hominumque divina visa jactantium partibus amicum sese ostendit,"—i. e. as long as he lived, he shewed himself a friend to the anabaptists, and other enthusiasts who pretended to divine inspiration. But how could our historian assert this without restriction, since it is well known that Carlostadt, after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the anabaptists in particular? This treatise was even addressed to Luther, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of his unworthy treatment of Carlostadt, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission for him to return into Saxony. See Gerdes, Vita Carolostadii. After this reconciliation with Luther, he composed a treatise on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and, having perused the writings of Zuingle, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired a second time to Zurich, and thence to Basil, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died, amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious Grynæus of Basil, to Pitiscus, chaplain to the elector Palatine, and shews how little credit ought to be given to the assertions of the ignorant Moreri, or to the insinuations of the insidious Bossuet.

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gation, the members of which were persecuted and ejected by the popish possessors of that country; but they were restored to their former habitations and privileges, civil and religious, by that prince who began, in 1740, to reign over Prussia [n]. CENT. XVI.

XXIV. The upright intentions of Schwenckfeld, and his zeal for the advancement of true piety, deserve, no doubt, the highest commendation; but the same thing cannot be said of his prudence and judgement. The good man had a natural propensity toward fanaticism, and fondly imagined that he had received a divine commission to propagate his opinions. He differed from Luther, and the other friends of the reformation, in three points, which it is proper to select from others of less consequence. The first of these points related to the doctrine concerning the eucharist. Schwenckfeld inverted the words of Christ, 'This is my body,' and insisted on their being thus understood: "*My body is this*, i. e. such as this "bread which is broken and consumed; a true and "real food, which nourishes, satisfies, and delights "the soul. *My blood is this*, that is, such in its effects "as the wine, which strengthens and refreshes the "heart." The poor man imagined that this *wonderful* doctrine had been revealed to him from heaven; which circumstance alone is a sufficient demonstration of his folly. The doctrine of Schwenckfeld.

The second point in which he differed from Luther, was in his hypothesis relating to the efficacy of the divine word. He denied, for example, that the external word, which is committed to writing in the Scriptures, was endowed with the power of healing,

Catalog. Hæreticor. lib. x.—The most accurate accounts of this nobleman have been given by Chr. Aug. Salig, in his Histor. August. Confessionis, tom. iii. lib. xi. and by Gottfried Arnold, in his Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, p. 720, both which authors have pleaded the cause of Schwenckfeld.

[n] See an account of Schwenckfeld's Confession of Faith, in Kocher's Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ, p. 457.

CENT. XVI. illuminating, and renewing the mind; and he ascribed this power to the internal word, which, according to his notion, was Christ himself. His discourses, however, concerning this internal word, were, as usually happens to persons of his turn, so full of confusion, obscurity, and contradiction, that it was difficult to find out what his doctrine really was, and whether it resembled that of the Mystics and Quakers, or was borrowed from a different source.

His doctrine concerning the human nature of Christ, formed the third subject of debate between him and the Lutherans. He would not allow Christ's human nature, in its exalted state, to be called a *creature*, or a created substance, as such denomination appeared to him infinitely below its majestic dignity, united as it is, in that glorious state, with the divine essence. This notion of Schwenckfeld bears a remarkable affinity to the doctrine of Eutyches, which, however, he professed to reject; and, in his turn, he accused those of Nestorianism, who gave the denomination of a creature to the human nature of Christ.

The Antinomians. XXV. An intemperate zeal, by straining certain truths too far, turns them into falsehood, or, at least, often renders them the occasion of the most pernicious abuses. A striking instance of this happened during the ministry of Luther. While he was insisting upon the necessity of imprinting deeply in the minds of the people that doctrine of the Gospel, which represents Christ's merits as the source of man's salvation, and while he was eagerly employed in censuring and refuting the popish doctors, who mixed the law and Gospel together, and represented eternal happiness as the fruit of legal obedience, a fanatic arose, who abused his doctrine, by over-straining it, and thus opened a field for the most dangerous errors. This new teacher was John Agricola, a native of Eisleben, and an eminent doctor of the Lutheran church, though chargeable with vanity,

presumption, and artifice. He first began to make a noise in 1538, when, from the doctrine of Luther now mentioned, he took occasion to declaim against the law, maintaining, that it was neither fit to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor to be used in the church as a mean of instruction; and that the Gospel alone was to be inculcated and explained, both in the churches and in the schools of learning. The followers of Agricola were called *Antinomians*, i. e. enemies of the law. But the fortitude, vigilance and credit of Luther, suppressed this sect in its very infancy; and Agricola, intimidated by the opposition of such a respectable adversary, acknowleged and renounced his pernicious system. But this recantation does not seem to have been sincere, since it is said, that when his fears were dispelled by the death of Luther, he returned to his errors, and gained proselytes to his extravagant doctrine [o].

The doctrine of Agricola examined.

XXVI. The tenets of the Antinomians, if their adversaries are to be believed, were of the most noxious nature and tendency; for they are supposed to have taught the most dissolute doctrine in point of morals, and to have maintained that it was allowable to follow the impulse of every passion, and to transgress without reluctance the divine law, provided that the transgressor took hold of Christ, and embraced his merits by a lively faith. Such, at least, is the representation that is generally given of their doctrine; but it ought not to be received with implicit credulity; for whoever looks into this matter with attention and impartiality, will soon be persuaded, that such an absurd and impious doctrine is unjustly laid to the charge of Agricola, and that the principal fault of this presumptuous man lay in some harsh

[o] See Caspar Sagittarius, Introd. ad Histor. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 838.—Bayle's Dictionaire, tom. ii. at the article Islebius. —Conr. Schlusselburg, Catalog. Hæret. lib. iv.—G. Arnold, Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, p. 813.

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and inaccurate expressions, which were susceptible of dangerous and pernicious interpretations. By the term *law*, he understood the ten Commandments, promulgated under the Mosaic dispensation; and he considered this law as enacted for the Jews, and not for Christians. He, at the same time, explained the term *Gospel* (which he considered as substituted for the law) in its true and extensive sense, as comprehending not only the doctrine of the merits of Christ rendered salutary by faith, but also the sublime precepts of holiness and virtue, delivered by the divine Saviour, as rules of obedience. If, therefore, we follow the intention of Agricola, without interpreting, in a rigorous manner, the uncouth phrases and improper expressions which he so frequently and so injudiciously employed, his doctrine will plainly amount to this: "That the ten Commandments, "published during the ministry of Moses, were chiefly "designed for the Jews, and on that account might "be lawfully neglected and laid aside by Christians: "and that it was sufficient to explain with perspi-"cuity, and to enforce with zeal, what Christ and "his apostles had taught in the New Testament, "both with respect to the means of grace and salva-"tion, and the obligations of repentance and virtue." The greatest part of the doctors of this century are chargeable with a want of precision and consistency in expressing their ideas: hence their real sentiments have been misunderstood, and opinions have been imputed to them which they never entertained.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

Debates that arose during the second period of the Lutheran church.

XXVII. AFTER the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, Philip Melanchthon was placed at the head of the Lutheran doctors. The merit, genius, and talents of this new chief were, undoubtedly, great and illustrious, though it must, at the same time, be confessed, that he was inferior to

Luther in many respects [p], and more especially in courage, firmness, and personal authority. His natural temper was soft and flexible; his love of peace almost excessive, and his apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of men in power were such as betrayed a pusillanimous spirit. He was ambitious of the esteem and friendship of all with whom he had any intercourse, and was absolutely incapable of employing the force of threatenings, or the restraints of fear, to suppress the efforts of religious faction, to keep within due bounds the irregular love of novelty and change, and to secure to the church the obedience of its members. It is also to be observed, that his sentiments, on some points of moment, differed considerably from those of Luther; and it may not be improper to point out the principal subjects on which they adopted different ways of thinking. CENT. XVI.

In the first place, Melanchthon was of opinion, that, for the sake of peace and concord, many things might be connived at and tolerated in the church of Rome, which Luther considered as absolutely insupportable. The former carried so far the spirit of toleration and indulgence, as to discover no reluctance against retaining the ancient form of ecclesiastical government, and submitting to the dominion of the Roman pontiff, on certain conditions, and in such a manner, as might be without prejudice to the obligation and authority of all those truths which are clearly revealed in the holy scriptures.

A second occasion of a diversity of sentiment, between these great men, was furnished by the tenets which Luther maintained in opposition to the doc-

☞ [p] It would certainly be very difficult to point out the *many respects* in which Dr. Mosheim affirms that Luther was superior to Melanchthon; for, if the single article of courage and firmness of mind be excepted, I know no other respect in which Melanchthon is not superior, or at least equal, to Luther. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgement, meekness, and humanity.

CENT. XVI. trines of the church of Rome. Such were his ideas concerning faith, as the *only* cause of salvation, concerning the necessity of good works to our final happiness, and man's natural incapacity of promoting his own conversion. In avoiding the corrupt notions which were embraced by the Roman-catholic doctors on these important points of theology, Luther seemed, in the judgement of Melanchthon, to lean too much toward the opposite extreme [q]. Hence the latter was inclined to think, that the sentiments and expressions of his colleague required to be in some degree mitigated, lest they should give a handle to dangerous abuses, and be perverted to the propagation of pernicious errors.

It may be observed, thirdly, that though Melanchthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the eucharist [r], yet he did not consider the contro-

☞ [q] It is certain, that Luther carried the doctrine of Justification by Faith to such an excessive length, as seemed, though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate not only from the necessity of good works, but even from their obligation and importance. He would not allow them to be considered either as the *conditions* or *means* of salvation, or even as a preparation for receiving it.

☞ [r] It is somewhat surprising to hear Dr. Mosheim affirming that Melanchthon adopted the sentiments of his friend with regard to the eucharist, when the contrary is well known. It is true, that in his writings, published before the year 1529 or 1530, there are passages, which shew that he had not yet thoroughly examined the controversy relating to the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharist. It is also true, that during the disputes carried on between Westphal and Calvin, after the death of Luther, concerning the *real presence*, he did not declare himself in an open manner for either side (which however is a presumptive argument of his leaning to that of Calvin), but expressed his sorrow at these divisions, and at the spirit of animosity by which they were inflamed. But whoever will be at the pains to read his letters to Calvin upon this subject, or those extracts of them which are collected by Hospinian, in the second volume of his Historia Sacramentaria, will be persuaded that he looked upon the doctrine of Consubstantiation not only as erroneous, but even as idolatrous; and that nothing but the fear of inflaming the present divisions, and of not being seconded, prevented him from declaring his sentiments openly. See Bayle's Life of Melanchthon, in his Dictionary.

versy with the divines of Switzerland on that subject, as a matter of sufficient moment to occasion a breach of church communion and fraternal concord between the contending parties. He thought that this happy concord might be easily preserved by expressing the doctrine of the eucharist, and Christ's presence in that ordinance, in general and ambiguous terms, which the two churches might explain according to their respective systems. CENT. XVI.

Such were the sentiments of Melanchthon, which, though they were not entirely concealed during the life of Luther, he delivered, nevertheless, with great circumspection and modesty, yielding always to the authority of his colleague, for whom he had a sincere friendship, and of whom also he stood in awe. But no sooner were the eyes of Luther closed, than he inculcated, with the greatest plainness and freedom, what he had before only hinted with timidity and caution. The eminent rank which he held among the Lutheran doctors rendered this bold manner of proceeding extremely disagreeable to many. His doctrine accordingly was censured and opposed; and thus the church was deprived of the tranquillity which it had enjoyed under Luther, and exhibited an unhappy scene of animosity, contention, and discord.

The adiaphoristic controversy, or the dispute concerning matters of an indifferent nature.

XXVIII. The rise of these unhappy divisions must be dated from the year 1548, when Charles V. attempted to impose upon the Germans the famous edict, called the *Interim*. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, desirous of knowing how far such an edict ought to be respected in his dominions, assembled the doctors of Wittenberg and Leipsic in the last-mentioned city, and proposed this nice and critical subject to their serious examination. Upon this occasion Melanchthon, complying with the suggestions of that lenity and moderation which were the great and leading principles in the whole course of his conduct and actions, declared it as his opinion, that, in matters of an indifferent nature, compliance was due to

CENT. XVI. the imperial edicts[s]. But, in the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther, and consequently could not be considered as indifferent by his true disciples[t]; for he regarded, as such, the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the necessity of good works to eternal salvation, the number of the sacraments, the jurisdiction claimed by the pope and the bishops, extreme unction, the observance of certain religious festivals, and several superstitious rites and ceremonies. Hence arose that warm contest[u] which divided the church during many years, and proved highly detrimental to the progress of the Reformation. The defenders of the primitive doctrines of Lutheranism, with Flacius at their head, attacked with incredible bitterness and fury the doctors of Wittenberg and Leipsic (particularly Melanchthon, by whose counsel and influence every thing relating to the *Interim* had been conducted), and accused them of apostasy from the true religion. Melanchthon, on the other hand, seconded by the zeal of his friends and disciples, justified his conduct with the utmost spirit and vigor[w].

[s] The piece in which Melanchthon and his associates delivered their sentiments relating to things indifferent, is commonly called in the German language *Das Leipziger Interim*, and was republished at Leipsic in 1721, by Bieckius, in a work entitled, Das Dreyfache Interim.

☞ [t] If they only are the true disciples of Luther, who submit to his judgement, and adopt his sentiments in theological matters, many doctors of that communion, and our historian among the rest, must certainly be supposed to have forfeited that title, as will abundantly appear hereafter. Be that as it may, Melanchthon can scarcely, if at all, be justified in placing in the class of things indifferent the doctrines relating to faith and good works, which are the fundamental points of the Christian religion, and, if I may use such an expression, the very *hinges* on which the Gospel turns.

[u] ☞ This controversy was called *Adiaphoristic*, and Melanchthon and his followers *Adiaphorists*, from the Greek word ἀδιαφορος, which signifies *indifferent*.

[w] Schlusselburg's Catalog. Hæreticor. lib. xiii.—Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, lib. xvi. cap. xxvi. p. 816.—Salig's

In this unfortunate debate the two following questions were principally discussed: first, whether the points that seemed indifferent to Melanchthon were so in reality?—this his adversaries obstinately denied [x]:—secondly, whether in things of an indifferent nature, and in which the interests of religion are not essentially concerned, it be lawful to yield to the enemies of the truth? CENT. XVI.

XXIX. This debate became, as might have been expected, a fruitful source of other controversies, which were equally detrimental to the tranquillity of the church, and to the cause of the Reformation. The first to which it gave rise was the warm dispute concerning the necessity of good works, that was carried on with such spirit against the rigid Lutherans, by George Major, an eminent teacher of theology at Wittenberg. Melanchthon had long been of opinion, that the necessity of good works, in order to the attainment of everlasting salvation, might be asserted and taught, as conformable to the truths revealed in the Gospel; and both he and his colleagues declared this to be their opinion, when they were assembled at Leipsic, in 1548, to examine the famous edict already mentioned [y]. This declaration was severely censured by the rigid disciples of Luther, as contrary to the doctrine and sentiments of their chief, and as conformable both to the tenets and interests of the church of Rome; but it found an able defender in Major, who, in 1552, maintained the necessity of good works, against the extravagant assertions of Amsdorf. Hence arose a new controversy between the rigid and moderate Lutherans, which was carried on with the keenness and animosity that were peculiar to all debates of a religious nature during this century. In the course of this warm debate, Ams- A controversy set on foot by George Major concerning the necessity of good works.

Histor. Aug. Confess. vol. i. p. 611.—The German work, entitled Unschuldige Nachrichten, An. 1702.—Luc. Osiandri Epitome Histor. Eccles. Centur. xvi. p. 502.

[x] ☞ See above, note [t].

[y] The *Interim* of Charles V.

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dorf was so far transported and infatuated by his excessive zeal for the doctrine of Luther, as to maintain, that good works were an impediment to salvation; from which imprudent and odious expression the flame of controversy received new fuel, and broke forth with redoubled fury. On the other hand, Major complained of the malice or ignorance of his adversaries, who explained his doctrine in a manner quite different from that in which he intended it should be understood; and, at length, he renounced it entirely, that he might not appear fond of wrangling, or be looked upon as a disturber of the peace of the church. This step did not, however, put an end to the debate, which was still carried on, until it was terminated at last by the *Form of Concord*[z].

The synergistical controversy.

XXX. From the same source that produced the dispute concerning the necessity of good works, arose the *synergistical* controversy. The Synergists[a], whose doctrine was almost the same with that of the Semi-Pelagians, denied that God was the *only* agent in the conversion of sinful man; and affirmed, that man *co-operated* with divine grace in the accomplishment of this salutary purpose. Here also Melanchthon renounced the doctrine of Luther; at least, the terms he employs in expressing his sentiments concerning this intricate subject, are such as Luther would have rejected with horror; for, in the conference at Leipsic, the former of these great men did not scruple to affirm, that "God drew to himself and converted adult persons in such a manner, that the powerful impression of his grace was accompanied with a certain correspondent action of their will." The friends and disciples of Melanchthon adopted this manner of speak-

[z] Schlusselburg, lib. vii. Catal. Hæreticor.—G. Arnold's Kirchen Hist. lib. xvi. cap. xxvii. p. 822.—Jo. Musæi Prælect. in Form. Concord. p. 181.—Arn. Grevii Memoria Joh. Westphali, p. 166.

[a] As this controversy turned upon the *co-operation* of the human will with the divine grace, the persons who maintained this joint agency, were called *Synergists*, from a Greek word (συνεργεια), which signifies *co-operation*.

ing, and used the expressions of their master to describe the nature of the divine agency in man's conversion. But this representation of the matter was far from being agreeable to the rigid Lutherans. They looked upon it as subversive of the true and genuine doctrine of Luther, relating to the absolute servitude of the human will [b], and the total inability of man to do any good action, or to bear any part in his own conversion; and hence they opposed the Synergists with the utmost animosity and bitterness. The principal champions in this theological conflict were Strigelius, who defended the sentiments of Melanchthon with singular dexterity and perspicuity, and Flacius, who maintained the ancient doctrine of Luther: of these doctors, as also the subject of their debate, a farther account will soon be given [c].

Flacius, by his intemperate zeal, excites many divisions in the church.

XXXI. During these dissensions, a new university was founded at Jena by the dukes of Saxe-Weimar, the sons of the famous John Frederic, whose unsuccessful wars with the emperor Charles V. had involved him in so many calamities, and deprived him of his electoral dominions. The noble founders of this university, having designed it for the bulwark of the protestant religion, as it was taught and inculcated by Luther, were particularly careful in choosing such professors and divines as were remarkable for their attachment to the genuine doctrine of that great reformer, and their aversion to the sentiments of those moderate Lutherans, who had attempted, by certain modifications and corrections, to render it less harsh and disgusting; and, as none of the Lutheran doctors were so much distinguished by their uncharitable and

[b] The doctrines of absolute predestination, irresistible grace, and human impotence, were never carried to a more excessive length, or maintained with a more virulent obstinacy, by any divine, than they were by Luther. But in these times he has very few followers in this respect, even among those who bear his name.

[c] See Schlusselburg's Catal. Hæreticor. lib. v.—G. Arnold, Histor. Eccles. lib. xvi. cap. xxviii. p. 826.—Bayle's Dict.—Sulig's Histor. August. Confess. vol. iii.—Musæi Prælect.

CENT. XVI. intemperate zeal for this ancient doctrine, as Matthias Flacius, the virulent enemy of Melanchthon and all the Philippists, he was appointed, in 1557, professor of divinity at Jena. The consequences of this nomination were, indeed, deplorable. This turbulent and impetuous man, whom nature had formed with an uncommon propensity to foment divisions and propagate discord, not only revived all the ancient controversies that had distracted the church, but also excited new debates; and sowed, with such avidity and success, the seeds of contention between the divines of Weimar and those of the electorate of Saxony, that a fatal schism in the Lutheran church was apprehended by many of its wisest members[d]. And indeed this schism would have been inevitable, if the machinations and intrigues of Flacius had produced the desired effect; for, in 1559, he persuaded the dukes of Saxe-Weimar to order a refutation of the errors that had crept into the Lutheran church, and particularly of those which were imputed to the followers of Melanchthon, to be drawn up with care, promulgated by authority, and placed among the other religious edicts and articles of faith that were in force in their dominions. But this pernicious design of dividing the church proved abortive; for the other Lutheran princes, who acted from the true and genuine principles of the Reformation, disapproved this seditious book, from a just apprehension of its tendency to increase the present troubles, and to augment, instead of diminishing, the calamities of the church[e].

The contest between Flacius and Strigelius.

XXXII. This theological incendiary kindled the flame of discord and persecution even in the church of Saxe-Weimar, and in the university of Jena, to which he belonged, by venting his fury against Strigelius[f], the friend and disciple of Melanchthon. This

[d] See the remarkable letter of Augustus, elector of Saxony, concerning Flacius and his malignant attempts; published by Arn. Grevius in his Memoria Joh. Westphali.

[e] Salig's Historia August. Confess. vol. iii. p. 476.

[f] See Bayle's Dictionary.

moderate divine adopted, in many things, the sentiments of his master, and maintained, particularly, in his public lectures, that the human will, when under the influence of the divine grace leading it to repentance, was not totally inactive, but bore a certain part in the salutary work of its conversion. In consequence of this doctrine, he was accused by Flacius of Synergism at the court of Saxe-Weimar; and, by the duke's order, was cast into prison, where he was treated with severity and rigor. He was at length delivered from this confinement in 1562, and allowed to resume his former vocation, after he had made a declaration of his real sentiments, which, as he alleged, had been greatly misrepresented. This declaration, however, did not either decide or terminate the controversy, since Strigelius seemed rather to conceal his erroneous sentiments[g] under ambiguous expressions, than to renounce them entirely; and indeed he was so conscious of this himself, that, to avoid being involved in new calamities and persecutions, he retired from Jena to Leipsic, and thence to Heidelberg, where he spent the remainder of his days; and appeared so unsettled in his religious opinions, that it is doubtful whether he ought to be placed among the followers of Luther or Calvin.

Some particulars of the dispute carried on by Flacius of Saxe-Weimar.

XXXIII. The issue of this warm controversy, which Flacius had kindled with such an intemperate zeal, proved highly detrimental to his own reputation and influence in particular, as well as to the interests of the Lutheran church in general; for, while this vehement disputant was assailing his adversary with an inconsiderate ardor, he exaggerated so excessively the sentiments, which he looked upon as orthodox, as to maintain an opinion of the most monstrous and detestable kind; an opinion which made him appear,

☞ [g] The sentiments of Strigelius were not, I have reason to believe, very *erroneous* in the judgement of Dr. Mosheim, nor are they such in the estimation of the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors at this day.

CENT. XVI. even in the judgement of his warmest friends, an odious heretic, and a corruptor of the true religion. In 1560, a public dispute was holden at Weimar, between him and Strigelius, concerning the natural powers and faculties of the human mind, and their influence in the conversion and conduct of the true Christian. In this conference the latter seemed to attribute to unassisted nature too much, and the former too little. The one looked upon the fall of man as an event that extinguished, in the human mind, every virtuous tendency, every noble faculty, and left nothing behind it but universal darkness and corruption. The other maintained, that this degradation of the powers of nature was by no means universal or entire; that the will still retained some propensity to worthy pursuits, and a certain degree of activity that rendered it capable of attainments in virtue. Strigelius, who was well acquainted with the wiles of a captious philosophy, proposed to defeat his adversary by puzzling him, and, with that view, addressed to him the following question: "Whether original sin, or the corrupt habit which the human soul contracted by the fall, ought to be placed in the class of substances or accidents? Flacius answered, with unparalleled imprudence and temerity, that it belonged to the former; and maintained, to his dying hour, this most extravagant and dangerous proposition, that original sin is the very substance of human nature. So invincible was the obstinacy with which he persevered in this strange doctrine, that he chose to renounce all worldly honors and advantages rather than depart from it. It was condemned by the greatest and soundest part of the Lutheran church, as a doctrine that bore no small affinity to that of the Manichæans. But, on the other hand, the merit, erudition, and credit of Flacius, procured him many respectable patrons as well as able defenders among the most learned doctors of the church, who embraced his sentiments and maintained his cause with the greatest spirit and zeal; of whom the most eminent were

Cyriac Spangenberg, Christopher Irenæus, and Cælestine [h]. CENT. XVI.

The consequences that arose from the imprudence of Flacius.

XXXIV. It is scarcely possible to imagine how much the Lutheran church suffered from this new dispute in all those places where its contagion had reached, and how detrimental it was to the progress of Lutheranism, among those who still adhered to the religion of Rome; for the flame of discord spread to a great extent; it was communicated even to those churches which were erected in popish countries, and particularly in the Austrian territories, under the gloomy shade of a dubious toleration; and it so animated the Lutheran pastors, though surrounded by their cruel adversaries, that they could neither be restrained by the dictates of prudence, nor by the sense of danger [i]. Many are of opinion, that an ignorance of philosophical distinctions and definitions threw Flacius inconsiderately into the extravagant hypothesis which he maintained with such obstinacy, and that his greatest heresy was no more than a foolish attachment to an unusual term. But Flacius seems to have fully refuted this plea in his behalf, by declaring boldly, in several parts of his writings, that he knew perfectly well the philosophical signification and the whole energy of the word *substance*, and was by no means ignorant of the consequences that might be drawn from the doctrine he had embraced [k]. Be

[h] Schlusselburg, Catalog. Hæret. lib. ii.—The Life of Flacius, written in German by Ritter.—Salig, Histor. Aug. Confessionis, vol. iii. p. 593.—Arnold's Kirchen Hist. lib. xvi. cap. xxix. p. 829.—Musæi Prælect. in Formul. Concordiæ, p. 29.—Jo. Georgii Leuckfeldii Historia Spangenbergensis.—For a particular account of the dispute, that was holden publicly at Weimar, see the work entitled Unschuldige Nachrichten, p. 383.

[i] See Bern. Raupach's Zwiefache Zugabe zu dem Evangelisch. Oesterrich. The same author speaks of the friends of Flacius in Austria, and particularly of Irenæus, in his Presbyterol. Austriac.—For an account of Cælestine, see the Unschuldige Nachrichten.

[k] This will appear evident to such as will be at the pains to consult the letters which Westphal wrote to his friend Flacius, in order to persuade him to abstain from the use of the word

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that as it may, we cannot but wonder at the senseless and excessive obstinacy of this turbulent man, who chose rather to sacrifice his fortune, and disturb the tranquillity of the church, than to abandon a word, which was entirely foreign to the subject in debate, and renounce an hypothesis, that was composed of the most palpable contradictions.

The disputes kindled by Osiander.

XXXV. The last controversy that we shall mention, of those which were occasioned by the excessive lenity of Melanchthon, was set on foot by Osiander, in 1549, and produced much animosity in the church. Had its founder been yet alive, his influence and authority would have suppressed in their birth these wretched disputes; nor would Osiander, who despised the moderation of Melanchthon, have dared either to publish or defend his crude and chimerical opinions within the reach of Luther. Arrogance and singularity were the principal lines in Osiander's character; he loved to strike out new notions; but his views seemed always involved in an intricate obscurity. The disputes that arose concerning the *Interim*, induced him to retire from Nuremberg, where he had exercised the pastoral charge, to Konigsberg, where he was chosen professor of divinity. In this new station he began his academical functions by propagating notions concerning the divine Image, and the nature of repentance, very different from the doctrine that Luther had taught on these interesting subjects; and, not content with this deviation from the common course, he thought proper, in the year 1550, to introduce considerable alterations and corrections into the doctrine that had been generally received in the Lutheran church, with respect to the means of our *justification* before God. When we examine his discussion of this important point, we shall find it much more easy to perceive the opinions he rejected, than to

substance, with the answers of the latter. These letters and answers were published by Arnold Grevius, in his Mem. J. Westphali.

understand the system he had invented or adopted; CENT. XVI. for, as was too usual in this age, he not only expressed his notions in an obscure manner, but seemed very frequently to speak and write in contradiction to himself. His doctrine, when carefully examined, will appear to amount to the following propositions; "Christ, considered in his *human nature only*, "could not, by his obedience to the divine law, obtain "justification and pardon for sinners; nor can we be "justified before God by embracing and applying to "ourselves, through faith, the righteousness and obe- "dience of the *man* Christ. It is only through that "eternal and essential righteousness, which dwells in "Christ *considered as God*, and which resides in his "divine nature, that is united to the human, that "mankind can obtain complete justification. Man "becomes a partaker of this divine righteousness by "faith, since it is in consequence of this uniting "principle that Christ dwells in the heart of man, "with his divine righteousness; now, wherever "this divine righteousness dwells, *there* God can "behold no sin, and therefore, when it is present "with Christ in the hearts of the regenerate, they "are, on its account, considered by the Deity as "righteous, although they may be sinners. More- "over, this divine and justifying righteousness of "Christ, excites the faithful to the pursuit of holiness "and to the practice of virtue." This doctrine was zealously opposed by the most eminent doctors of the Lutheran church, and, in a more especial manner, by Melanchthon and his colleagues. On the other hand, Osiander and his sentiments were supported by persons of considerable weight. But, upon the death of this rigid and fanciful divine, the flame of controversy was cooled, and dwindled by degrees into nothing[1].

[1] See Schlusselburgii Catalogus Hæreticor. lib. vi.—Arnoldi Kirchen Hist. lib. xvi. cap. xxiv. p. 804.—Christ. Hartknoch's Preussische Kirchen Historie, p. 309.—Salig's Historia August. Confessionis, tom. ii. p. 922. The judgement that was formed

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The debates excited by Stancarus.

XXXVI. The doctrine of Osiander, concerning the method of being justified before God, appeared so absurd to Stancarus, professor of Hebrew at Konigsberg, that he undertook to refute it. But while this turbulent and impetuous doctor was exerting all the vehemence of his zeal against the opinion of his colleague, he was hurried by his violence into the opposite extreme, and fell into an hypothesis, that appeared equally groundless, and not less dangerous in its tendency and consequences. Osiander had maintained that the man Christ, in his character of moral agent, was obliged to obey, for *himself*, the divine law, and therefore could not, by the imputation of this obedience, obtain righteousness or justification for *others*. Hence he concluded, that the Saviour of the world had been empowered, not by his character as *man*, but by his nature as *God*, to make expiation for our sins, and reconcile us to the favor of an offended Deity. Stancarus, on the other hand, excluded entirely Christ's divine nature from all concern in the satisfaction he made, and in the redemption he procured for offending mortals, and maintained, that the sacred office of a mediator between God and man belonged to Jesus, considered in his human nature alone. Having perceived, however, that this doctrine exposed him to the enmity of many divines, and even rendered him the object of popular resentment and indignation, he retired from Konigsberg into Germany, and at length into Poland, where, after having excited no small commotions [m], he concluded his days in 1574 [n].

of this controversy by the divines of Wittenberg, may be seen in the Unschuldige Nachrichten, and that of the doctors of Copenhagen, in the Danischen Bibliothec. part vii. p. 150, where may be found an ample list of the writings published on this subject.—To form a just idea of the insolence and arrogance of Osiander, those who understand the German language will do well to consult Hirschius, Nuremberg Interims-Historie.

[m] See Hartknoch's Preussische Kirchen Hist.—Schlusselburg, liv. ix.—Bayle's Dict.—Before the arrival of Stancarus at Konigsberg, in 1548, he had lived for some time in Switzerland,

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The methods that were employed to heal these divisions.

XXXVII. All those who had the cause of virtue, and the advancement of the Reformation really at heart, looked with an impatient ardor for an end to these bitter and uncharitable contentions; and their desires of peace and concord in the church were still increased, by their perceiving the great assiduity with which Rome turned these unhappy divisions to the advancement of her interests. But during the life of Melanchthon, who was principally concerned in these warm debates, no effectual method could be found to bring them to a conclusion. The death of this great man, which happened in 1560, changed, indeed, the face of affairs, and enabled those who were disposed to terminate the present contests, to act with more resolution, and a surer prospect of success than had accompanied their former efforts. Hence it was, that, after several vain attempts, Augustus, elector of Saxony, and John William, duke of Saxe-Weimar, summoned the most eminent doctors of both the contending parties to meet at Altenburg, in 1568, and there to propose, in an amicable manner, and with a charitable spirit, their respective opinions, that thus it might be seen how far a reconciliation was possible, and what was the most probable method of bringing it about. But the intemperate zeal and warmth of the disputants, with other inauspicious cir-

where also he had occasioned religious disputes; for he adopted several doctrines of Luther, particularly that concerning the virtue and efficacy of the sacraments, which were rejected by the Swiss and Grisons. See the Museum Helveticum, tom. v. p. 484, 490. For an account of the disturbances he occasioned in Poland, in 1556, see Bullinger, in Jo. Conr. Fueslini Centuria I. Epistolarum à Reformator. Helvetic. scriptarum.

☞ [n] The main argument alleged by Stancarus, in favor of his hypothesis, was this,—that, if Christ was mediator by his divine nature only, it followed evidently, that even considered as God he was inferior to the Father; and thus, according to him, the doctrine of his adversary Osiander led directly to the Unitarian system. This difficulty, which was presented with great subtilty, engaged many to strike into a middle road, and to maintain, that both the divine and human natures of Christ were immediately concerned in the work of redemption.

CENT. XVI. cumstances, blasted the fruits that were expected from this conference [o]. Another method of restoring tranquillity and union among the members of the Lutheran church was therefore proposed; and this was, that a certain number of wise and moderate divines should be employed in composing a form of doctrine, in which all the controversies that divided the church should be terminated and decided; and that this new compilation, as soon as it should be approved by the Lutheran princes and consistories, should be invested with ecclesiastical authority, and added to the symbolical [p] or standard books of the Lutheran church. James Andreas, professor at Tubingen, whose theological abilities had procured him the most eminent and shining reputation, had been employed, so early as the year 1569, in this critical and difficult undertaking, by the special command of the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick. The elector of Saxony [q], with several persons of distinction, embarked with these two princes in the project they had formed; so that Andreas, under the shade of such a powerful protection and patronage, exerted all his zeal, traveled through different parts of Germany, negotiated alternately with courts and synods, and took all the measures which prudence could suggest, to render the form, that he was composing, universally acceptable.

The Saxon Crypto-Calvinists, or secret favorers of Calvinism.

XXXVIII. The persons embarked in this conciliatory design, were persuaded that no time ought to be lost in carrying it into execution, when they perceived the imprudence and temerity of the disciples of Melanchthon, and the changes they were attempting to introduce into the doctrine of the

[o] Casp. Sagittarii Introductio ad Hist. Ecclesiasticam, par. ii. p. 1542.

☞ [p] The Lutherans call *symbolical* (from a Greek word that signifies *collection* or *compilation*), the books which contain their articles of faith and rules of discipline.

[q] Augustus.

church; for his son-in-law, Peucer [r], who was a physician and professor of natural philosophy at Wittenberg, together with the divines of that city and of Leipsic, encouraged by the approbation, and relying on the credit, of Cracovius, chancellor of Dresden, and of several ecclesiastics and persons of distinction at the Saxon court, aimed at nothing less than abolishing the doctrine of Luther, concerning the eucharist and the person of Christ, with a view of substituting the sentiments of Calvin in its place. This new reformation was attempted in Saxony in 1570; and a great variety of clandestine arts and stratagems were employed, in order to bring it to a happy and successful issue. What the sentiments of Melanchthon concerning the eucharist were toward the conclusion of his days, appears to be extremely doubtful. It is however certain, that he had a strong inclination to form a coalition between the Saxons and Calvinists, though he was prevented, by the irresolution and timidity of his natural character, from attempting openly this much-desired union. Peucer, and the other disciples of Melanchthon already mentioned, made a public profession of the doctrine of Calvin; and though they had much more spirit and courage than their soft and yielding master, yet they wanted his circumspection and prudence, which were not less necessary to the

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[r] This Peucer, whom Dr. Mosheim mentions without any mark of distinction, was one of the wisest, most amiable, and most learned men that adorned the annals of German literature during this century, as the well-known history of his life, and the considerable number of his medical, mathematical, moral, and theological writings, abundantly testify. Nor was he more remarkable for his merit than for his sufferings. After his genius and virtues had rendered him the favorite of the elector of Saxony, and placed him at the head of the university of Wittenberg, he felt, in a terrible manner, the effects of the bigotry and barbarity of the rigid Lutherans, who, on account of his denying the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist, united, with success, their efforts to deprive him of the favor of his sovereign, and procured his imprisonment. His confinement, which lasted ten years, was accompanied with inhuman severity. See Melchior Adam's Vit. Medicor. Germanor.

CENT. XVI. accomplishment of their designs. Accordingly in 1571, they published, in the German language, a work entitled *Stereoma*[s], and other writings, in which they openly declared their dissent from the doctrine of Luther concerning the eucharist and the *person of Christ*[t]; and, that they might execute their purposes with greater facility, they introduced into the schools a Catechism, compiled by Pezelius, which was favorable to the sentiments of Calvin. As this bold step excited great commotions and debates in the church, Augustus held at Dresden, in the same year, a solemn convocation of the Saxon divines, and of other persons concerned in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and commanded them to adopt *his* opinion in relation to the eucharist[u]. The

☞ [s] A term which signifies *foundation*.

☞ [t] The learned historian seems to deviate here from his usual accuracy. The authors of the Stereoma did not declare their dissent from the doctrine of Luther, but from the extravagant inventions of some of his successors. This great man, in his controversy with Zuingle, had indeed thrown out some unguarded expressions, that seemed to imply a belief of the omnipresence of the body of Christ; but he became sensible afterwards that this opinion was attended with great difficulties, and particularly, that it ought not to be brought forward as a proof of Christ's corporal presence in the eucharist *. Yet this absurd hypothesis was renewed after the death of Luther, by Tinman and Westphal, and was dressed up in a still more specious and plausible form, by Brentius, Chemnitz, and Andreas, who maintained the communication of the properties of Christ's divinity to his human nature, as it was afterwards adopted by the Lutheran church. This strange system gave occasion to the Stereoma, in which the doctrine of Luther was respected, and the inventions alone of his successors were renounced, and in which the authors declared plainly, that they did not adopt the sentiments of Zuingle or Calvin, but that they admitted the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist.

☞ [u] In this passage, compared with what follows, Dr. Mosheim seems to maintain, that the opinion of Augustus, which he imposed upon the assembled divines, was in favor of the adversaries of Melanchthon, and in direct opposition to the authors of the Stereoma. But here he has committed a palpable over-

* See Lutheri op. tom. viii. p. 375, Edit. Janiens.

assembled doctors complied with this order in appearance; but their compliance was feigned[w]; for, on their return to the places of their abode, they resumed their original design, pursued it with assiduity and zeal, and by their writings, as also by their public and private instructions, endeavoured to abolish the ancient doctrine of the Saxons, relating to the presence of Christ's body in that holy sacrament. The elector, informed of these proceedings, convened anew the Saxon doctors, and held, in 1574, the famous convocation of Torgaw[x], where, after a strict enquiry into the doctrines of those who, from their *secret* attachment to the sentiments of the Swiss divines, were called *Crypto*-Calvinists[y], he committed some of them to prison, sent others into banishment, and engaged a certain number by the force of the secular arm to change their sentiments. Peucer, who

sight. The convocation of Dresden, in 1571, instead of approving or maintaining the doctrine of the rigid Lutherans, drew up, on the contrary, a form of agreement (*formula consensus*) in which the omnipresence or *ubiquity* of Christ's body was denied; and which was, indeed, an abridgement of the Stereoma; so that the transactions at Dresden were entirely favorable to the moderate Lutherans, who embraced openly and sincerely (and not by a feigned consent (*subdole*) as our historian remarks) the sentiment of the elector Augustus, who at that time patronised the disciples of Melanchthon. This prince, it is true, seduced by the crafty and artful insinuations of the Ubiquitarians, or rigid Lutherans, who made him believe that the ancient doctrines of the church were in danger, changed sides soon after, and was pushed on to the most violent and persecuting measures, of which the convocation of Torgaw was the first step, and the *Form of Concord* the unhappy issue.

☞ [w] The compliance was sincere; but the order was very different from that mentioned by our author, as appears from the preceding note.

☞ [x] It is to be observed, that not more than fifteen of the Saxon doctors were convened at Torgaw by the elector—a small number this to give law to the Lutheran church. For an account of the declaration drawn up by this assembly on the points relating to the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, the omnipresence of that body, and the oral manducation of the flesh and blood of the divine Saviour, see Hospiniani Concordia Discors.

☞ [y] i. e. Hidden, or disguised Calvinists.

CENT. XVI. had been principally concerned in moderating the rigor of some of Luther's doctrines, felt, in a more especial manner, the severe effects of the elector's displeasure; for he was confined to a comfortless prison, where he lay in the most affecting circumstances of distress until the year 1585, when, having obtained his liberty through the intercession of the prince of Anhalt, who had given his daughter in marriage to Augustus, he retired to Zerbst, where he ended his days in peace [z].

The Form of Concord.

XXXIX. The schemes of the Crypto-Calvinists being thus disconcerted, the elector of Saxony, and those princes who had entered into his views, redoubled their zeal and diligence in promoting the Form of Concord, already mentioned. Accordingly, various conferences were holden, preparatory to this important undertaking; and, in 1576, while the Saxon divines were convened at Torgaw by the order of Augustus, a treatise was composed by James Andreas, with a view of healing the divisions of the Lutheran church, and as a preservative against the opinions of the *reformed* doctors [a]. When this production, which was styled the Book of Torgaw, had been carefully examined, reviewed, and corrected, by the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors in Germany, the affair was again proposed to the deliberation of a select number of divines, who met at Berg, a Benedictine monastery in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg [b].

☞ [z] See Schlusselburgii Theologia Calvinistica, lib. ii. iii. iv.—Hutteri Concordia Concors, cap. i.—viii.—Arnoldi Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. xvi. cap. xxxii.—Loscheri Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat. par. ii. iii.—All these are writers favorable to the rigid Lutherans; see therefore, on the other side, Casp. Peuceri Hist. Carcerum et Liberationis Divinæ, published at Zurich, in 1605, by Pezelius.

☞ [a] The term *Reformed* was used to distinguish the other protestants of various denominations from the Lutherans; and it was equally applied to the friends of episcopacy and presbyterianism. See the following chapter.

☞ [b] The book that was composed by Andreas and his associates at Torgaw, was sent by the elector to almost all the Lutheran princes, with a view of its being examined, approved,

Here all points relating to the intended project were accurately weighed, the opinions of the assembled doctors carefully discussed, and the result of all was the famous *Form of Concord.* The persons who assisted Andreas in the composition of this celebrated work, or at least in the revision of it at Berg, were Martin Chemnitz, Nicolas Selneccer, Andrew Musculus, Christopher Cornerus, and David Chytræus [c]. This new confession of the Lutheran faith was adopted first by the Saxons, in consequence of the strict order of Augustus; and their example was followed by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches, by some sooner, by others later [d]. The authority of this confes- CENT. XVI.

and received by them. It was, however, rejected by several princes, and censured and refuted by various doctors. These censures engaged the compilers to review and correct it; and it was from this book, thus changed and new-modeled, that the *form* published at Berg was entirely drawn.

☞ [c] The Form of Concord, composed at Torgaw, and reviewed at Berg, consists of two parts. In the first is contained a system of doctrine, drawn up according to the fancy of the six doctors here mentioned. In the second is exhibited one of the strongest instances of that persecuting and tyrannical spirit, of which the protestants complained in the church of Rome, even a formal condemnation of all those who differed from these six doctors, particularly in their strange opinions concerning the majesty and omnipresence of Christ's body, and the real manducation of his flesh and blood in the eucharist. This condemnation branded with the denomination of heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church, all Christians, of all nations, who refused to subscribe these doctrines. More particularly in Germany, the terrors of the sword were solicited against these pretended heretics, as may be seen in the famous testament of Brentius. For a full account of the Confession of Torgaw and Berg, see Hospinian's Concordia Discors, where the reader will find large extracts from this confession, with an ample account of the censures it underwent, the opposition that was made to it, and the arguments which were used by its learned adversaries.

[d] A list of the writers who have treated of this *form*, may be found in Jo. Georgii Walchii Introduct. in Libros Symbolicos, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 707, and Kocheri Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ, p. 188. There are also several unpublished documents relative to this famous confession, of which there is an account in the German work entitled, Unsch. Nachricht.—The principal writers who have given the history of the *form*, and the transactions relating to it, are Hospinian and Hutter, already mentioned.

CENT. XVI. sion, as is sufficiently known, was employed for the two following purposes: first, to terminate the controversies which divided the Lutheran church, more especially after the death of its founder; and, secondly, to preserve that church against the opinions of the Reformed in relation to the eucharist.

The Form of Concord produces much disturbance,

XL. This very form, however, which was designed to restore peace and concord in the church, and had actually produced this effect in several places, became a source of new tumults, and furnished matter for the most violent dissensions and contests. It immediately met with a warm opposition from the Reformed, and also from all those who were either secretly attached to their doctrine, or who, at least, were desirous of living in concord and communion with them, from a laudable zeal for the common interests of the protestant cause. Nor was their opposition at all unaccountable, since they plainly perceived that this form removed all the flattering hopes they had entertained, of seeing the divisions that reigned among the friends of religious liberty happily healed, and entirely excluded the Reformed from the communion of the Lutheran church. Hence they were filled with indignation against the authors of this new confession of faith, and exposed their uncharitable proceedings in writings full of spirit and vehemence. The Swiss doctors, with Hospinian at their head, the Belgic divines[e], those of the Palatinate[f], together

is opposed by the Reformed, or Calvinists,

These two historians have written on opposite sides; and whoever will be at the pains of comparing their accounts with attention and impartiality, will easily perceive where the truth lies, and receive satisfactory information with respect to the true state of these controversies, and the motives that animated the contending parties.

[e] See Petri Villerii Epistola Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum ad et contra Auctores Libri Bergensis, dicti "Concordiæ."—This work was published a second time, with the annotations of Lud. Gerard a Renesse, by the learned Dr. Gerdes of Groningen, in his Scrinium Antiquarium, seu Miscellan. Groningens. Nov. tom. i. Add to these the Unschuldige Nachricht.

[f] John Casimir, prince Palatine, convoked an assembly of the

with the principalities of Anhalt and Baden, declared war against the form; and accordingly from this period the Lutheran, and more especially the Saxon doctors, were charged with the disagreeable task of defending this new creed and its compilers, in many laborious productions[g]. CENT. XVI.

XLI. Nor were the followers of Zuingle and Calvin the only opposers of this form: it found adversaries, even in the very bosom of Lutheranism, and several of the most eminent churches of that communion rejected it with such firmness and resolution, that no arguments or entreaties could engage them to admit it as a rule of faith, or even as a mean of instruction. It was rejected by the church of Nuremberg, by those of Hesse, Pomerania, Holstein, Silesia, Denmark, Brunswick, and others[h]. But though they all united in opposing it, their opposition was founded on different reasons, nor did they all act in this affair from the same motives or the same principles. A warm and affectionate veneration for the memory of Melanchthon was, with some, the And even by the Lutherans themselves.

reformed divines at Francfort, in 1577, in order to reject and annul this form. See Hen. Altingii Histor. Eccles. Palatin. sect. clxxix.

[g] See Jo. Georg. Walchii Introd. in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranor. lib. i. cap. vii.

[h] For an account of the ill success of this form in the duchy of Holstein, see the Danische Bibliothec. vol. iv. p. 212, vol. v. p. 355, vol. viii. p. 333—461, vol. ix. p. 1.—Muhlii Dissert. Histor. Theol. Diss. i. de Reformat. Holsat. p. 108.—Arn. Grevii Memoria Pauli ab Eitzen. The transactions in Denmark, in relation to this form, and the particular reasons for which it was rejected there, may be seen in the Danish Library above quoted, vol. iv. p. 222—282, and also in Pontoppidan's Annal. Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici, tom. iii. p. 456. The last author evidently proves (p. 476,) a fact which Herman ab Elswich, and other authors, have endeavoured to represent as dubious,—that Frederic II. king of Denmark, as soon as he received a copy of the form, threw it into the fire, and saw it consumed before his eyes.—The opposition that was made to it by the Hessians, may be seen in Tielemanni Vitæ Theologor. Marpurgens. p. 99.—Danischen Bibliothec. vol. vii. p. 273—364. tom. ix. p. 1—87.—The ill fate of this famous Confession, in the principalities of Lignitz and Brieg, is amply related in the Unsch. Nachricht.

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[f] John C[illegible] Pala[illegible] assembly of the

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only, or at least the predominant, motive that induced them to declare against the form in question; they could not behold, without the utmost abhorrence, a production in which the sentiments of this great and excellent man were so rudely treated. In this class we may rank the Lutherans of Holstein. Others were not only animated in their opposition by a regard for Melanchthon, but also by a persuasion, that the opinions, condemned in the new creed, were more conformable to truth, than those which were substituted in their place. A secret attachment to the sentiments of the Helvetic doctors prevented some from approving the form under consideration; the hopes of uniting the Reformed and Lutheran churches engaged many to declare against it; and a considerable number refused their assent to it from an apprehension, whether real or pretended, that the addition of a new creed to the ancient confessions of faith would be really a source of disturbance and discord in the Lutheran church. It would be endless to enumerate the different reasons alleged by the different individuals or communities, who declared their dissent from the Form of Concord.

The conduct of Julius, duke of Brunswick, in this matter.

XLII. This form was patronised in a more especial manner by Julius, duke of Brunswick, to whom, in a great measure, it owed its existence, who had employed both his authority and munificence in order to encourage those who had undertaken to compose it, and had commanded all the ecclesiastics, within his dominions, to receive and subscribe it as a rule of faith. But scarcely was it published, when the zealous prince, changing his mind, suffered the form to be publicly opposed by Heshusius, and other divines of his university of Helmstadt, and to be excluded from the number of the creeds and confessions received by his subjects. The reasons alleged by the Lutherans of Brunswick, in behalf of this step, were, 1st, That the Form of Concord, when printed, differed in several places from the manuscript copy to which they had given their approba-

tion; 2dly, That the doctrine relating to the freedom of the human will was expressed in it without a sufficient degree of accuracy and precision, and was also inculcated in the harsh and improper terms that Luther had employed in treating that subject: 3dly, That the ubiquity, or universal and indefinite presence of Christ's human nature, was therein positively maintained, although the Lutheran church had never adopted any such doctrine. Beside these reasons, which were publicly avowed, some perhaps of a secret nature contributed to the remarkable change, which was visible in the sentiments and proceedings of the duke of Brunswick. Various methods and negotiations were employed to remove the dislike which this prince, and the divines who lived in his territories, had conceived against the Creed of Berg. Particularly, in 1583, a convocation of divines from Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, was holden at Quedlinburg for this purpose. But Julius persisted steadfastly in his opposition, and proposed that the form should be examined, and its authority discussed in a general assembly or synod of the Lutheran church[i].

The Crypto-Calvinists make new attempts to spread their doctrine.

XLIII. This form was not only opposed from abroad, but had likewise adversaries in the very country which gave it birth; for even in Saxony many, who had been obliged to subscribe it, beheld it with aversion, in consequence of their attachment to the doctrine of Melanchthon. During the life of Augustus, they were forced to suppress their sentiments; but, as soon as he had paid the last tribute to nature, and was succeeded by Christian I., the moderate Lutherans and the secret Calvinists resumed their courage. The new elector had been accustomed,

[i] See Leon. Hutteri Concordia Concors, cap. xlv.—Phil. Jul. Richtmeyeri Braunschweig Kirchen Hist. part iii. cap. viii.—See also the authors mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaffius, in his Acta et Scripta Ecclesiæ Wirtembergensis, p. 62, et Histor. Literar. Theologiæ, part ii. p. 423.—For an account of the convocation of Quedlinburg, and the acts that passed in that assembly, see the Danische Bibliothec. part viii

CENT. XVI. from his tender years, to the moderate sentiments of Melanchthon, and is also said to have evinced a propensity to the doctrine of the Helvetic church. Under his government, therefore, an opportunity was offered to the persons above-mentioned of declaring their sentiments and executing their designs; and the attempts to abolish the form now seemed to be renewed, with a view of opening a door for the entrance of Calvinism into Saxony. The persons who had embarked in this design, were greatly encouraged by the protection which they received from several noblemen of the first rank at the Saxon court, and, particularly, from Crellius, the first minister of Christian. Under the auspicious influence of such patrons it was natural to expect success; yet they conducted their affairs with circumspection and prudence. Certain laws were previously enacted, in order to prepare the minds of the people for the intended revolution in the doctrine of the church; and, some time after[k], the form of exorcism was omitted in the administration of baptism[l]. These measures were followed by others still more alarming to the rigid Lutherans; for not only a new German catechism, favorable to the purpose of the secret Calvinists, was industriously distributed among the people, but also a new edition of the Bible, in the same language, enriched with the observations of Henry Salmuth, which were artfully accommodated to this purpose, was, in 1591, published at Dresden. The consequences of these vigorous measures were violent tumults and seditions among the people, which the

[k] In the year 1591.

☞ [l] The custom of *exorcising*, or casting out evil spirits, was used in the fourth century at the admission of catechumens, and was afterwards absurdly applied in the baptism of infants. This application of it was retained by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches. It was indeed abolished by the elector, Christian I. but was restored after his death; and the opposition that had been made to it by Crellius was the chief reason of his unhappy end. See Justi H. Bohmeri Jus Ecclesiast. Protestant. tom. iii; as also a German work of Melchior Kraft, entitled Geschichte des Exorcismi.

magistrates endeavoured to suppress, by punishing with severity such of the clergy as distinguished themselves by their opposition to the views of the court. But the whole plan of this religious revolution was overturned by the unexpected death of Christian, which happened in the year 1591. Affairs then assumed their former aspect. The doctors, who had been principally concerned in the execution of this unsuccessful project, were committed to prison, or sent into banishment, after the death of the elector; and its chief encourager and patron, Crellius, suffered death in 1601, as the fruit of his temerity [m]. CENT. XVI.

XLIV. Toward the conclusion of this century, a new controversy was imprudently set on foot at Wittenberg, by a Swiss named Samuel Huber, professor of divinity in that university. The Calvinistical tenets of absolute predestination and unconditional decrees were extremely offensive to this adventurous theologian, and even excited his warmest indignation. Accordingly he affirmed, and taught publicly, that all mankind were elected from eternity by the Supreme Being to everlasting salvation, and accused his colleagues in particular, and the Lutheran divines in general, of a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin, on account of their asserting, that the divine election was confined to those, whose *faith, foreseen* by an omniscient God, rendered them the proper objects of his redeeming mercy. The opinion of Huber, as is now acknowleged by many learned men, differed more in words than in reality, from the doctrine of the Lutheran church; for he did no more than explain in a new method, and with a different turn of phrase, what that church had always taught concerning the unlimited extent of the love of God, as embracing the whole human race, and excluding none by an *absolute* decree from everlasting salvation. However, as a disagreeable experience The dispute set on foot by Huber.

[m] See Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, part ii. book xvi. cap. xxxii; as also the authors mentioned by Herm. Ascan. Engelcken, in his Dissertat. de Nic. Crellio, ejusque Supplicio.

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and repeated examples had abundantly shewn, that new methods of explaining or proving even received doctrines were as much adapted to excite divisions and contests, as the introduction of new errors, Huber was exhorted to adhere to the ancient method of proposing the doctrine of *election*, and, instead of his own peculiar forms of expression, to make use of those which were received and authorised by the church. To this compliance he refused to submit, alleging that it was contrary to the dictates of his conscience, while his patrons and disciples, in many places, gave several indications of a turbulent and seditious zeal for his cause. These considerations engaged the magistrates of Wittenberg to depose him from his office, and to send him into banishment [n].

The judgement that ought to be formed concerning all these controversies.

XLV. The controversies, of which a succinct account has now been given, and others of inferior moment, which it is needless to mention, were highly detrimental to the true interests of the Lutheran church, as is abundantly known by all who are acquainted with the history of this century. It must also be acknowleged, that the manner of conducting and deciding these debates, the spirit of the disputants, and the proceedings of the judges, if we form our estimate of them by the sentiments that prevail among the wiser sort of men in modern times, must be considered as inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. It betrays, nevertheless, a want, both of candor and justice, to inveigh indiscriminately against the authors of these misfortunes, and to represent them as totally destitute of rational sentiments and virtuous principles; and it is still more unjust to throw the whole blame upon the triumphant party, while the suffering side are all fondly represented as men of unblemished virtue, and worthy of a better fate. It ought not certainly to be a matter of surprise, that persons long accustomed to a state

[n] For an account of the writers that appeared in this controversy, see Christ. Matth. Pfaffii Introductio in Histor. Liter. Theologiæ, par. ii. lib. iii. p. 431.

of darkness, and suddenly transported from it into the blaze of day, did not, at first, behold the objects that were presented to their view with that distinctness and precision which are natural to those who have long enjoyed the light; and such really was the case of the first protestant doctors, who were delivered from the gloom of papal superstition and tyranny. Besides, there was something gross and indelicate in the reigning spirit of this age, which made the people, not only tolerate, but even applaud many things relating both the to conduct of life and the management of controversy, which the more polished manners of modern times cannot relish, and which, indeed, are by no means worthy of imitation. As to the particular motives or intentions that guided each individual in this troubled scene of controversy, whether they acted from the suggestions of malice and resentment, or from an upright and sincere attachment to what they considered as truth, or how far these two springs of action were jointly concerned in their conduct, all this must be left to the decision of Him alone, whose privilege it is to search the heart, and to discern its most hidden intentions and its most secret motives.

The principal doctors and writers of this century.

XLVI. The Lutheran church furnished, during this century, a long list of distinguished men, who illustrated, in their writings, the various branches of theological science. After Luther and Melanchthon, who stand foremost in this list, on account of their superior genius and erudition, we may select the following writers as the most eminent, and as persons whose names are worthy of being preserved in the annals of literature; viz. Weller, Chemnitz, Brentius, Flacius, Regius, Major, Amsdorf, Sarcerius, Matthesius, Wigandus, Lambertus, Andreas, Chytræus, Selneccer, Bucer, Fagius, Cruciger, Strigelius, Spangenberg, Judex, Heshusius, Westphal, Æpinus, Osiander, and others [o].

[o] For an ample account of these Lutheran doctors, see Melchior Adam's Vitæ Theologorum, and Du-Pin's Bibliotheque

CHAPTER II.

The History of the Reformed [p] *Church.*

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The constitution of the reformed church.

1. THE reformed church, founded by Zuingle and Calvin, differs considerably, in its nature and constitution, from all other ecclesiastical communities. Every other Christian church hath some common centre of union, and its members are connected by some common bond of doctrine and discipline. But this is far from being the case of the *Reformed* church [q],

des Auteurs separés de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine au xvii. Siecle. The lives of several of these divines have been also composed by different authors of the present times; for example, that of Weller by Læmelius, that of Flacius by Ritter, those of Heshusius and Spangenberg by Leuckfeldt, that of Fagius by Feverlin, that of Chytræus by Schutz, that of Bucer by Verportenius, those of Westphal and Æpinus by Arn. Grevius, &c.

☞ [p] It has already been observed, that the denomination of *Reformed* was given to those protestant churches which did not embrace the doctrine and discipline of Luther. The title was first assumed by the French protestants, and afterwards became the common denomination of all the Calvinistical churches on the continent;—I say, on the continent; since in England the term *Reformed* is generally used as standing in opposition to popery alone. Be that as it may, this part of Dr. Mosheim's work would have been, perhaps, with greater propriety entitled, 'The History of the Reformed *Churches*,' than that of the 'Reformed *Church*.' This will appear still more evident from the following note.

☞ [q] This, and the following observations, are designed to give the Lutheran church an air of unity, which is not to be found in the reformed. But there is a real fallacy in this specious representation of things. The *reformed* church, when considered in the true extent of the term, comprehends all those religious communities which separated themselves from the church of Rome; and, in this sense, it includes the Lutheran church, as well as the others. And even when this epithet is used in opposition to the community founded by Luther, it represents not a single church, as the episcopal, presbyterian, or independent, but rather a collection of churches; which, though they may be invisibly united by a belief and profession of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, maintain separate places of worship, and have each a visible centre of external union peculiar to themselves, which is formed by certain peculiarities in their respective rules of public worship and ecclesi-

whose several branches are neither united by the same system of doctrine, nor by the same mode of worship, nor yet by the same form of government. It is farther to be observed, that this church does not require, from its ministers, either uniformity in their private sentiments, or in their public doctrine, but permits them to explain, in different ways, several doctrines of no small moment, provided that the great and fundamental principles of Christianity, and the practical precepts of that divine religion, be maintained in their original purity. This great community, therefore, may be properly considered as an ecclesiastical body composed of many churches, that vary from each other in their form and constitution, but which are preserved from anarchy and schism, by a general spirit of equity and toleration, that runs through the whole system, and renders variety of opinion consistent with fraternal union.

The causes that produced this state of things.

II. This indeed was not the original state and constitution of the reformed church, but was the

astical government *. An attentive examination of the discipline, polity, and worship of the churches of England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland, will set this matter in the clearest light. The first of these churches, being governed by bishops, and not admitting the validity of presbyterian ordination, differs from the other three more than any of these differ from each other. There are, however, peculiarities of government and worship that distinguish the church of Holland from that of Scotland. The institution of deacons, the use of forms for the celebration of the sacraments, an ordinary form of prayer, the observance of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsuntide, are established in the Dutch church; and it it is well known that the church of Scotland greatly differs from it in these respects.—But, after all, to what does the pretended uniformity among the Lutherans amount? Are not some of the Lutheran churches governed by bishops, while others are ruled by elders? It shall moreover be shewn, in its proper place, that, even in point of doctrine, the Lutheran churches are not so very remarkable for their uniformity.

* See the general sketch of the state of the church in the eighteenth century, in the sixth volume, paragraph XXI. and the notes p and q.

CENT. XVI. result of a certain combination of events and circumstances, that threw it, by a sort of necessity, into this ambiguous form. The divines of Switzerland, from whom it derived its origin, and Calvin, who was one of its principal founders, employed all their credit, and exerted their most vigorous efforts, in order to reduce all the churches, which embraced their sentiments, under one rule of faith, and the same form of ecclesiastical government. And although they considered the Lutherans as their brethren, yet they shewed no marks of indulgence to those who openly favored the opinions of Luther, concerning the eucharist, the person of Christ, or predestination; nor would they permit the other protestant churches that embraced their communion, to deviate from their example in this respect. A new scene, however, which was exhibited in Britain, contributed much to enlarge this narrow and contracted system of church communion; for, when the violent contest concerning the form of ecclesiastical government, and the nature and number of those ceremonies which were proper to be admitted into the public worship, arose between the abettors of episcopacy and the puritans [r], it was judged necessary to extend the borders of the reformed church, and rank, in the class of its true members, even those who departed, in some respects, from the ecclesiastical polity and doctrines established at Geneva. This spirit of toleration and indulgence became still more forbearing and comprehensive after the famous synod of Dordrecht; for, though the sentiments and doctrines of the Arminians were rejected and condemned in that numerous assembly, yet they gained ground privately, and insinuated themselves into the minds of many. The church of England, in the reign of Charles I., publicly

☞ [r] The *Puritans*, who inclined to the presbyterian form of church government, of which Knox was one of the earliest abettors in Britain, derived this denomination from their pretending to a *purer* method of worship than that which had been established by Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth.

renounced the opinions of Calvin relating to the divine decrees, and made several attempts to model its doctrine and institutions after the laws, tenets, and customs, that were observed by the primitive Christians[s]. On the other hand, several Lutheran congregations in Germany entertained a strong propensity to the doctrines and discipline of the church of Geneva, though they were restrained from declaring themselves fully and openly on this head, by their apprehensions of forfeiting the privileges which they derived from their adherence to the confession of Augsburg. The French refugees also, who had long been accustomed to a moderate way of thinking in religious matters, and whose national turn led them to a certain freedom of inquiry, being dispersed abroad in all parts of the protestant world, rendered themselves so agreeable, by their wit and eloquence, that their example excited a kind of emulation in favor of religious liberty. All these circumstances, accompanied with others, whose influence was less palpable, though equally real, gradually instilled such a spirit of lenity and forbearance into the minds of protestants, that at this day, all Christians, if we except Roman catholics, Socinians, Quakers, and Anabaptists, may claim a place among the members of the reformed church. It is true that great reluctance was discovered by many against this comprehensive scheme of church communion; and, even in the times in which we live, the ancient and less charitable manner of proceeding hath several patrons, who would be glad to see the doctrines and institutions of Calvin universally adopted and rigorously observed. These zealots, however, are not very

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☞ [s] This assertion is equivocal. Many members of the church of England, with archbishop Laud at their head, did, indeed, propagate the doctrines of Arminius, both in their pulpits and in their writings. But it is not accurate to say that the church of England renounced publicly, in that reign, the opinions of Calvin. See this matter farther discussed in the note [m], cent. xvii. sect. ii. p. ii. ch. ii. paragraph xx.

CENT. XVI. numerous, nor is their influence considerable; and it may be affirmed with truth, that, both in point of number and authority, they are much inferior to the friends of moderation, who reduce within a narrow compass the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, on the belief of which salvation depends, exercise forbearance and fraternal charity toward those who explain certain doctrines in a manner peculiar to themselves, and desire to see the enclosure (if I may use that expression) of the reformed church rendered as large and comprehensive as is possible [s].

The foundation of the reformed church laid by Zuingle.

III. The founder of the reformed church was Ulric Zuingle, a native of Switzerland, and a man of uncommon penetration and acuteness, accompanied with an ardent zeal for truth. This great man was for removing out of the churches, and abolishing, in the ceremonies and appendages of public worship, many things which Luther was disposed to treat with toleration and indulgence, such as images, altars, wax-tapers, the form of exorcism, and private confession. He aimed at nothing so much as establishing, in his country, a form of divine worship remarkable for its simplicity, and as far remote as could be from every thing that might have the smallest tendency to nourish a spirit of superstition [t]. Nor were these

[s] The annals of theology have not yet been enriched with a full and accurate history of the Reformed Church. This task was indeed undertaken by Scultet, and even carried down so far as his own time, in his Annales Evangelii Renovati; but the greatest part of this work is lost. Theod. Hasæus, who proposed to give the annals of that church, was prevented by death from fulfilling his purpose. The famous work of James Basnage, published in 1725, under the title of Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées, instead of giving a regular history of the reformed church, is only designed to shew that its peculiar and distinguishing doctrines are not new inventions, but were taught and embraced in the earliest ages of the church. Maimbourg's Histoire du Calvinisme is remarkable for nothing but the partiality of its author, and the wilful errors with which it abounds.

[t] The design of Zuingle was certainly excellent; but in the execution of it perhaps he went too far, and consulted rather the dictates of reason than the real exigencies of human nature

the only circumstances in which he differed from the Saxon reformer; for his sentiments concerning several points of theology, and more especially his opinions relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, varied widely from those of Luther. The greatest part of these sentiments and opinions were adopted in Switzerland, by those who had joined themselves to Zuingle in promoting the cause of the Reformation, and were by them transmitted to all the Helvetic churches that threw off the yoke of Rome. From Switzerland these opinions were propagated among the neighbouring nations, by the ministerial labors and the theological writings of the friends and disciples of Zuingle: and thus the primitive reformed church, that was founded by this eminent ecclesiastic, and whose extent at first was not very considerable, gathered strength by degrees, and daily made new acquisitions. CENT. XVI.

IV. The separation, between the Lutheran and Swiss churches, was chiefly occasioned by the doctrine of Zuingle, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Luther maintained, that the body and blood of Christ were really, though in a manner far beyond human comprehension, present in the eucharist, and were exhibited together with the bread and wine. On the contrary, the Swiss reformer looked upon the The controversy between the Lutherans and Reformed concerning the eucharist.

in its present state. The existing union between soul and body, which operate together in the actions of moral agents, even in those who appear the most abstracted and refined, renders it necessary to consult the external senses, as well as the intellectual powers, in the institution of public worship. Besides, between a worship purely and philosophically rational, and a service grossly and palpably superstitious, there are many intermediate steps and circumstances, by which a rational service may be rendered more affecting and awakening, without becoming superstitious. A noble edifice, solemn music, a well-ordered set of external gestures, though they do not, in themselves, render our prayers more acceptable to the Deity, than if they were offered up without any of these circumstances, produce, nevertheless, a good effect. They elevate the mind, they give it a composed and solemn frame, and thus contribute to the fervor of its devotion.

CENT. XVI. bread and wine in no other light than as the signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ; and, from the year 1524, he propagated this doctrine in a public manner by his writings, having entertained and taught it privately before that period [u]. In a little time after this [w], his example was followed by Œcolampadius, a divine of Basil, and one of the most learned men of that century [x]. But they were both opposed with obstinacy and spirit by Luther and his associates, particularly those of the circle of Suabia. In the mean time, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, apprehending the pernicious effects that these debates might have upon the affairs of the protestants, which were, as yet, in the fluctuating and unsettled state that marks the infancy of all great revolutions, was desirous of putting an end to these differences, and, for that purpose, appointed a conference at Marpurg, between Zuingle, Luther, and other doctors of both parties [y]. This meeting, however, only covered the flame instead of extinguishing it; and the pacific prince, seeing it impossible to bring about a definitive treaty of peace and concord between these jarring divines, was obliged to rest satisfied with having engaged them to consent to a truce. Luther and Zuingle came to an agreement about several points; but the principal matter in debate,—that which regarded Christ's presence in the eucharist,—was left undecided; each party appealing to the Fountain of wisdom to terminate this

[u] Zuingle certainly taught this doctrine in private before the year 1524, as appears from Gerdes' Historia Renovati Evangelii, tom. i.

[w] In the year 1525.

[x] Jo. Conr. Fueslini Centuria i. Epistol. Theolog. Reformat. —☞ Œcolampadius was not less remarkable for his extraordinary modesty, his charitable, forbearing, and pacific spirit, and his zeal for the progress of vital and practical religion, than for his profound erudition, which he seemed rather studious to conceal, than to display.

☞ [y] Zuingle was accompanied by Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hideon. Luther had with him Melanchthon and Justus Jonas from Saxony, and also Osiander, Brentius, and Agricola.

controversy, and expressing a hope a that time and impartial reflection might discover and confirm the truth [z].

The progress of these disputes so far down as the death of Luther.

V. The reformed church had scarcely been founded in Switzerland by Zuingle, when this Christian hero fell in a battle that was fought, in 1530, between the protestants of Zurich, and their Roman-catholic compatriots, who drew the sword in defence of popery. It was not indeed to perform the sanguinary office of a soldier that Zuingle was present at this engagement, but with a view to encourage and animate, by his counsels and exhortations, the valiant defenders of the protestant cause [a]. After his death, several Lutheran doctors of the more moderate sort, and particularly Martin Bucer, used their utmost endeavours to bring about some kind of reconciliation between the contending parties. For this purpose they exhorted the jarring theologians to concord,

[a] Ruchat, Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse, vol. i. ii. —Hottinger, Helvetische Kirchen-Geschichte, part iii.—Loscher, Historia Motuum, par. i. cap. ii. iii. vi.—Fueslini Beytrage zur Schweizer Reformation, tom. iv.

[z] The Lutherans, who consider this unhappy fate of Zuingle as a reproach upon that great man in particular, and upon the reformed church in general, discover a gross ignorance of the genius and manners of the Swiss nation in this century; for, as all the inhabitants of that country are at present trained to arms, and obliged to take the field when the defence of their country requires it, so in the time of Zuingle this obligation was so general, that neither the ministers of the Gospel, nor the professors of theology, were exempted from this military service. Accordingly, in the same battle in which Zuingle fell, Jerome Pontanus, one of the theological doctors of Basil, also lost his life. See Fueslini Centuria i. Epistolar. Theol. Reformator. ☞ Erasmus also spoke in a very unfriendly manner of the death of Zuingle and his friend Œcolampadius. See Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i. It is not therefore surprising to find the bigoted Sir Thomas More insulting (with the barbarity that superstition seldom fails to produce in a narrow and peevish mind) the memory of these two eminent reformers, in a letter to the furious and turbulent Cochlæus; of which the following words shew the spirit of the writer: 'Postrema ea fuit, quam de Zuinglio et Œcolampadio, scriptam misisti, quorum nunciata mors mihi lætitiam attulit.—Sublatos e medio esse tam immanes fidei Christianæ hostes, tam intentos ubique in omnem perimendæ pietatis occasionem, jure gaudere possum.' Jortin, vol. ii.

CENT. XVI. interpreted the points in dispute with a prudent regard to the prejudices of both sides, admonished them of the pernicious consequences that must attend the prolongation of these unhappy contests, and even went so far as to express the respective sentiments of the contending doctors in terms of considerable ambiguity and latitude, that thus the desired union might be the more easily effected. There is no doubt, that the intentions and designs of these zealous intercessors were pious and upright[b]; but it will be difficult to decide, whether the means they employed were adapted to promote the end they had in view. Be that as it may, these pacific counsels of Bucer excited divisions in Switzerland: for some persevered obstinately in the doctrine of Zuingle, while others adopted the explications and modifications of his doctrine, offered by Bucer[c]. But these divisions and commotions had not the least effect on that reconciliation with Luther, which was earnestly desired by the pious and moderate doctors of both parties. The efforts of Bucer were more successful out of Switzerland, and particularly among those divines in the upper parts of Germany, who inclined to the sentiments of the Helvetic church; for they retired from the communion of that church, and joined themselves to Luther by a public act, which was sent to Wittenberg, in 1536, by a solemn deputation appointed for that purpose[d]. The Swiss divines could not be brought to so great a length. There was, however, still some prospect of a reconciliation even between them and the Lutherans. But this fair prospect entirely disappeared in 1544, when Luther published

[b] See Alb. Menon. Verpoorten, Comment. de Mart. Bucero, et ejus Sententiâ de Cœnâ Domini, sect. ix. p. 26, published in 8vo. at Coburg, in the year 1709.—Loscheri Histor. Motuum, par. i. lib. ii. and par. ii. lib. iii.

[c] Fueslini Centur. i. Epistolar. Theolog.

[d] Loscheri Hist. cap. ii. p. 205.—Ruchat, Histoire de la Reformat. de la Suisse, tom. v. p. 535.—Hottingeri Histor. Eccles. Helvet. tom. iii. lib. vi. p. 702.

his confession of faith in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was directly opposite to the doctrine of Zuingle and his followers on that head. The doctors of Zurich pleaded their cause publicly against the Saxon reformer in the following year; and thus the purposes of the advocates of peace were totally defeated [e].

The transactions that succeeded the death of Luther.

VI. The death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, was an event that seemed adapted to calm these commotions, and to revive, in the breasts of the moderate and pacific, the hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties. For this union, between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, was so ardently desired by Melanchthon and his followers, that this great man left no means unemployed to effect it, and seemed resolved, rather to submit to a dubious and forced peace, than to see those flaming discords perpetuated, which reflected such dishonor on the protestant cause. At the same time, this salutary work seemed to be facilitated by the theological system that was adopted by John Calvin, a native of Noyon in France, who was pastor and professor of divinity at Geneva, and whose genius, learning, eloquence, and talents, rendered him respectable, even in the eyes of his enemies. This great man, whose particular friendship for Melanchthon was an incidental circumstance highly favorable to the intended reconciliation, proposed an explication of the point in debate, that modified the crude hypothesis of Zuingle, and made use of all his credit and authority among the Swiss, and more particularly at Zurich, where he was held in the highest veneration, in order to obtain their assent to it [f]. The explication he proposed was not, indeed, favorable to the doctrine of Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist, which he persisted in denying; he supposed, however, that a certain *divine* virtue, or efficacy, was communicated by Christ, with the bread

[e] Loscheri Hist. par. i. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 341.
[f] Salig, Hist. Aug. Confessionis, tom. ii. lib. vii.

CENT. XVI. and wine, to those who approached this holy sacrament with a lively faith, and with upright hearts; and, to render this notion still more satisfactory, he expressed it in almost the same terms which the Lutherans employed in inculcating their doctrine of Christ's real presence in the eucharist[g]. Indeed the great and common error of all those, who, from a desire of peace, assumed the character of arbitrators in this controversy, lay in this, that they aimed rather at an uniformity of terms than of sentiments, and seemed satisfied when they had engaged the contending parties to use the same words and phrases, though their real difference in opinion remained the same, and each explained these ambiguous or figurative terms in a manner agreeable to their respective systems.

The concord, so much desired, did not, however, seem to advance much. Melanchthon, although he stood foremost in the rank of those who longed impatiently for it, had not courage enough to embark openly in the execution of such a perilous project. Besides, after the death of Luther, his enemies attacked him with redoubled fury, and gave him so much disagreeable occupation, that he had neither that leisure, nor that tranquillity of mind, which were necessary to prepare his measures properly for such an arduous undertaking. A new obstacle to the execution of this pacific project was also presented, by the intemperate zeal of Joachim Westphal, pastor at Hamburg, who, in 1552, renewed, with greater vehemence than ever, this deplorable controversy, which had been for some time suspended; and who, after Flacius, was the most obstinate defender of the opinions of Luther. This violent theologian, with a

[g] Calvin went certainly too far in this matter; and, in his explication of the benefits that arise from a worthy commemoration of Christ's death in the eucharist, he dwelt too grossly upon the allegorical expressions of Scripture, which the papists had so egregiously abused, and talked of really eating by faith the body, and drinking the blood of Christ.

spirit of acrimonious vehemence, like that which too remarkably appeared in the polemic writings of Luther, attacked the act of uniformity, by which the churches of Geneva and Zurich declared their agreement concerning the doctrine of the eucharist. In the book which he published with this view [h], he censured, with the utmost severity, the variety of sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, observable in the reformed church, and maintained, with his usual warmth and obstinacy, the opinion of Luther on that subject. This engaged Calvin to enter the lists with Westphal, whom he treated with as little lenity and forbearance, as the rigid Lutherans had shewn toward the Helvetic churches. The consequences of this debate were, that Calvin and Westphal had, respectively, their zealous defenders and patrons: thus the breach was widened, the spirits were heated, and the flame of controversy was kindled anew with such violence and fury, that to extinguish it entirely seemed to be a task beyond the reach of human wisdom or power [i].

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VII. These disputes were unhappily augmented by that famous controversy concerning the decrees of God, with respect to the eternal condition of men, which was set on foot by Calvin, and became an inexhaustible source of intricate researches, and abstruse, subtile, and inexplicable questions. The most ancient Helvetic doctors were far from adopting the doctrine of those, who represent the Deity as assigning from all eternity, by an absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional decree, to some everlasting happiness, and to others endless misery, without any previous regard to the moral characters and circumstances of either.

The controversy concerning predestination.

[h] This book, which abounds with senseless and extravagant tenets that Luther never so much as thought of, and breathes the most virulent spirit of persecution, is entitled, "Farrago Confusanearum et inter se dissidentium de S. Cœnâ Opinionum ex Sacramentariorum Libris congesta."

[i] Loscheri Historia Motuum, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 83.—Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. iii. p. 642.—Arn. Grevii Memoria Joac. Westphali.

CENT. XVI. Their sentiments seemed to differ very little from those of the Pelagians; nor did they hesitate in declaring, after the example of Zuingle, that the kingdom of heaven was open to all who lived according to the dictates of right reason[k]. Calvin had adopted a quite different system with respect to the divine decrees. He maintained, that the everlasting condition of mankind in a future world was determined from all eternity by the unchangeable order of the Deity, and that this absolute determination of his will and good pleasure, was the only source of happiness or misery to every individual. This opinion was in a very short time propagated through all the reformed churches, by the writings of Calvin, and by the ministry of his disciples; and, in some places, it was inserted in the national creeds and confessions, and thus made a public article of faith. The unhappy controversy, which took its rise from this doctrine, was opened at Strasburg, in 1560, by Jerome Zanchius, an Italian ecclesiastic, who was particularly attached to the sentiments of Calvin; and it was afterwards carried on by others with such zeal and assiduity, that it drew, in an extraordinary manner, the attention of the public, and tended as much to exasperate the passions, and foment the discord of the contending parties, as the dispute about the eucharist had already done[l].

[k] For the proof of this assertion, see Dallæi Apologia pro duabus Ecclesiarum Gallicar. Synodis adversus Fred. Spanheim, part iv. p. 946.—Jo. Alphons. Turretini Epistol. ad Antistitem Cantuariensem, inserted in the Bibliotheque Germanique, tom. xiii. —Simon, Bibliotheque Critique, published under the fictitious name of Sainior, tom. iii. ch. xxviii., and also a book, entitled, Observationes Gallicæ in Formul. Consensus Helveticam. The very learned Dr. Gerdes, instead of being persuaded by these testimonies, maintains, on the contrary (in his Miscellan. Groningens.) that the sentiments of Calvin were the same with those of the ancient Swiss doctors; but this excellent author may be refuted, even from his own account of the tumults which were occasioned in Switzerland, by the opinion that Calvin had propagated in relation to the divine decrees.

[l] Loscheri Historia Motuum, part iii. lib. v. cap. ii.—Salig, Hist. August. Confessionis, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii.

The discord is carried to the greatest height.

VIII. The Helvetic doctors had no prospect left of calming the troubled spirits, and tempering, at least, the vehemence of these deplorable feuds, but the moderation of the Saxon divines, who were the disciples of Melanchthon, and who, breathing the pacific spirit of their master, seemed, after his death, to have nothing so much at heart as the restoration of concord and union to the protestant church. Their designs, however, were not carried on with that caution and circumspection, with that prudent foresight, or that wise attention to the nature of the times, which always distinguished the transactions of Melanchthon, and which the critical nature of the cause they were engaged in, indispensably required. And hence they had already taken a step, which threatened to render ineffectual all the remedies they could apply to the healing of the present disorders; for, by dispersing artful and insidious writings, with a design to seduce the ministers of the church, and the studious youth, into the sentiments of the Swiss divines, or, at least, to engage them to treat these sentiments with toleration and forbearance, they drew upon themselves the indignation of their adversaries, and ruined the pacific cause in which they had embarked. It was this conduct that gave occasion to the composition of that famous *Form of Concord*, which condemned the sentiments of the reformed churches in relation to the person of Christ, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and, as this form is received by the greatest part of the Lutherans, as one of the articles of their religion, hence arises an insuperable obstacle to all schemes of reconciliation and concord.

What those things are, that are most worthy of observation in the rise and progress of the reformed church.

IX. So much did it seem necessary to premise concerning the causes, rise, and progress of the controversy, which formed the separation that still subsists between the Lutheran and reformed churches. Thence it will be proper to proceed to an account of the internal state of the latter, and to the history of its progress and revolutions. The history of the reformed church, during this century, comprehends

CENT. XVI. two distinct periods. The first commences with the year 1519, when Zuingle withdrew from the communion of Rome, and began to form a Christian church beyond the bounds of the pope's jurisdiction; and it extends to the time of Calvin's settlement at Geneva, where he acquired the greatest reputation and authority. The second period takes in the rest of this century.

During the first of these periods, the Helvetic church, which assumed the title of *Reformed* after the example of the French protestants in its neighbourhood, who had chosen this denomination, in order to distinguish themselves from the catholics, was very inconsiderable in its extent, and was confined to the cantons of Switzerland. It was indeed augmented by the accession of some small states in Suabia and Alsace; but, in 1536, these states changed sides, through the suggestions and influence of Bucer, returned to the communion of the Saxon church, and thus made their peace with Luther. The other religious communities, which had abandoned the church of Rome, either openly embraced the doctrine of Luther, or consisted of persons who did not agree in their theological opinions, and who really seemed to stand in a kind of neutrality between the contending parties. All things being duly considered, it appears probable enough that the church founded by Zuingle, would have remained still confined to its original limits, had not Calvin arisen, to augment its extent, authority, and lustre; for the natural and political character of the Swiss, neither bent toward the lust of conquest, nor the grasping views of ambition, discovered itself in their religious transactions; and, as a spirit of contentment with what they had, prevented their aiming at an augmentation of their territory, so did a similar spirit hinder them from being extremely solicitous about enlarging the borders of their church.

The religious points that first excited divisions between the Swiss and the Lutherans.

X. In this infant state of the reformed church, the only point that prevented its union with the followers

of Luther, was the doctrine they taught with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This first controversy, indeed, soon produced a second, relating to the *person* of Jesus Christ; which, nevertheless, concerned only a part of the Lutheran church [m]. The Lutheran divines of Suabia, in the course of their debates with those of Switzerland, drew an argument in favor of the *real* presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, from the following proposition: that "all the *properties* of the divine "nature, and consequently its *omnipresence*, were "communicated to the human nature of Christ by "the hypostatic union." The Swiss doctors, in order to destroy the force of this argument, denied this communication of the divine attributes to Christ's human nature; and denied, more especially, the 'ubiquity or omnipresence of the man Jesus;' and hence arose that most intricate and abstruse controversy concerning ubiquity, and the communication of properties, which produced so many learned and unintelligible treatises, so many subtile disputes, and occasioned such a multitude of accusations and invectives. CENT. XVI.

It is proper to observe, that, at this time, the Helvetic church universally embraced the doctrine of Zuingle concerning the eucharist. This doctrine, which differed considerably from that of Calvin, amounted to the following propositions: That the bread and wine were no more than a representation of the body and blood of Christ; or, in other words, the signs appointed to denote the benefits that were conferred upon mankind, in consequence of the death of Christ; that, therefore, Christians derived no other fruit from the participation of the Lord's supper, than a mere commemoration and remem-

☞ [m] It was only a certain number of those Lutherans, who were much more rigid in their doctrine than Luther himself, that believed the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's person, considered as a man. By this we may see that the Lutherans have their divisions as well as the reformed, of which several instances may be yet given in the course of this History.

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brance of the merits of Christ, which, according to an expression, common in the mouths of the advocates of this doctrine, was the 'only thing that was properly meant by the Lord's supper[n].' Bucer, whose leading principle was the desire of peace and concord, endeavoured to correct and modify this doctrine in such a manner, as to give it a certain degree of conformity to the hypothesis of Luther; but the memory of Zuingle was too fresh in the minds of the Swiss, to permit their acceptance of these corrections and modifications, or to suffer them to depart, in any respect, from the doctrine of that eminent man, who had founded their church, and had been the instrument of their deliverance from the tyranny and superstition of Rome.

John Calvin the principal founder of the reformed church.

XI. In the year 1541, John Calvin, who surpassed almost all the doctors of this age in laborious application, constancy of mind, force of eloquence, and extent of genius, returned to Geneva, whence the opposition of his enemies had obliged him to retire. On his settlement in that city, the affairs of the new church were committed to his direction[o]; and he acquired also a high degree of influence in the political administration of that republic. This event changed entirely the face of affairs, and gave a new

[n] Nihil esse in Cœnâ quam memoriam Christi. That this was the real opinion of Zuingle, appears evidently from various testimonies, which may be seen in the Museum Helveticum, tom. i. p. 485, 490. tom. iii. p. 631.—This is also confirmed by the following sentence in his book concerning baptism; (tom. ii. op. p. 85.) "Cœna Dominica non aliud quam Commemorationis nomen meretur." Compare, with all this, Fueslini Cent. I. Epist. Theol. Reform.

[o] Calvin, in reality, enjoyed the power and authority of a bishop at Geneva; for, as long as he lived, he presided in the assembly of the clergy, and in the consistory, or ecclesiastical judicatory. But, when he was at the point of death, he advised the clergy not to appoint a successor, and proved to them evidently the dangerous consequences of entrusting with any one man, during life, a place of such high authority. After him, therefore, the place of president ceased to be perpetual. See Spon's Histoire de Geneve, tom. ii.

aspect to the reformed church. The views and projects of this great man were grand and extensive; for he not only undertook to give strength and vigor to the rising church, by framing the wisest laws and the most salutary institutions for the maintenance of order, and the advancement of true piety, but even proposed to render Geneva the mother, the seminary of all the reformed churches, as Wittenberg was of all the Lutheran communities. He formed the scheme of sending forth from this little republic the succours and ministers that were to promote and propagate the protestant cause through the most distant nations, and aimed at nothing less than rendering the government, discipline, and doctrine of Geneva, the model and rule of strict imitation to all the reformed churches in the world. The undertaking was certainly great, and worthy of the extensive genius and capacity of this eminent man; and, great and arduous as it was, it was executed in part, and even carried on to a very considerable length, by his indefatigable assiduity and inextinguishable zeal. It was with this view, that, by the fame of his learning, as well as by his epistolary solicitations and encouragements of various kinds, he engaged many persons of rank and fortune, in France, Italy, and other countries, to leave the places of their nativity, and to settle at Geneva; while others repaired thither merely out of curiosity to see a man, whose talents and exploits had rendered him so famous, and to hear the discourses which he delivered in public. Another circumstance, that contributed much to the success of his designs, was the establishment of an university at Geneva, which the senate of that city founded at his request; and in which he himself, with his colleague, Theodore Beza, and other divines of eminent learning and abilities, taught the sciences with the greatest reputation. In effect, the lustre which these great men reflected upon this infant seminary of learning, spread its fame through the distant nations with such amazing rapidity, that all who were ambi-

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CENT. XVI. tious of a distinguished progress either in sacred or profane erudition, repaired to Geneva, and that England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany, seemed to vie with each other in the numbers of their studious youth, that were incessantly repairing to the new university. By these means, and by the ministry of these his disciples, Calvin enlarged considerably the borders of the reformed church, propagated his doctrine, and gained proselytes and patrons to his theological system, in several countries of Europe. In the midst of this glorious career, he ended his days, in the year 1564; but the salutary institutions and wise regulations, of which he had been the author, were both respected and maintained after his death. In a more especial manner, the university of Geneva flourished as much under Beza, as it had done during the life of its founder [p].

The form of doctrine and ecclesiastical government drawn up by this reformer.

XII. The plan of doctrine and discipline that had been formed by Zuingle, was altered and corrected by Calvin, more especially in three points, of which it will not be improper to give a particular account.

1st, Zuingle, in his form of ecclesiastical government, had given an absolute and unbounded power, in religious matters, to the civil magistrate, to whom he had placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many. At the same time he allowed a certain subordination and difference of rank among the ministers of the church, and even thought it expedient to place at their head a perpetual president, or superintendant, with a certain degree of inspection and authority over the whole body. Calvin, on the contrary, reduced the power of the magistrate, in religious matters, within narrow

[p] The various projects and plans that were formed, conducted, and executed with equal prudence and resolution by Calvin, in behalf, both of the republic and church of Geneva, are related by the learned person, who, in 1730, gave a new edition (enriched with interesting historical notes, and authentic documents) of Spon's Histoire de Geneve. The particular accounts of Calvin's transactions, given by this anonymous editor, in his notes, are drawn from several curious manuscripts of undoubted credit.

bounds. He declared the church a separate and independent body, endowed with the power of legislation for itself. He maintained, that it was to be governed, like the primitive church, only by presbyteries and synods, that is, by assemblies of elders, composed both of the clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little more than the privilege of protecting and defending the church, and providing for what related to its external exigencies and concerns. Thus this eminent reformer introduced into the republic of Geneva, and endeavoured to introduce into all the reformed churches throughout Europe, that form of ecclesiastical government, which is called *Presbyterian*, from its neither admitting the institution of bishops, nor any subordination among the clergy; and which is founded on this principle, that all ministers of the Gospel are, by the law of God, declared to be equal in rank and authority. In consequence of this principle, he established at Geneva a consistory composed of ruling elders, partly pastors, and partly laymen, and invested this ecclesiastical body with a high degree of power and authority. He also convened synods, composed of the ruling elders of different churches, and, in these consistories and synods, procured laws to be enacted for the regulation of all matters of a religious nature; and, among other things, restored to its former vigor the ancient practice of excommunication. All these things were done with the consent of the greatest part of the senate of Geneva. CENT. XVI.

2dly, The system that Zuingle had adopted with respect to the eucharist, was by no means agreeable to Calvin, who, in order to facilitate the desired union with the Lutheran church, substituted in its place another, which appeared more conformable to the doctrine of that church, and, in reality, differed little from it. For while the doctrine of Zuingle supposed only a *symbolical* or figurative *presence* of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and represented a pious remembrance of Christ's death, and of the

CENT. XVI. benefits it procured to mankind, as the only fruits that arose from the celebration of the Lord's supper, Calvin explained this critical point in a quite different manner. He acknowleged a *real* though *spiritual presence* of Christ in this sacrament; or, in other words, he maintained, that true Christians, who approached this holy ordinance with a lively faith, were, in a certain manner, united to the man Christ; and that from this union the spiritual life derived new vigor in the soul, and was still carried on, in a progressive motion, to greater degrees of purity and perfection. This kind of language had been used in the forms of doctrine drawn up by Luther; and as Calvin observed, among other things, that the divine grace was conferred upon sinners, and sealed to them by the celebration of the Lord's supper, this induced many to suppose that he adopted the sentiment implied in the barbarous term *impanation* [q], and did

☞ [q] The term *Impanation* (which signifies here the *presence* of Christ's body in the eucharist, *in*, or *with* the *bread* that is there exhibited) amounts to what is called Consubstantiation. It was a modification of the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation, first invented by some of the disciples of Berenger, who had not a mind to break all measures with the church of Rome, and was afterwards adopted by Luther and his followers, who, in reality, made sad work of it. For, in order to give it some faint air of possibility, and to maintain it as well as they could, they fell into a wretched scholastic jargon about the nature of substances, subsistences, attributes, properties, and accidents, that did infinite mischief to the true and sublime science of gospel theology, whose beautiful simplicity it was adapted to destroy. The very same perplexity and darkness, the same quibbling, sophistical, and unintelligible logic that reigned in the attempts of the Roman catholics to defend the doctrine of Transubstantiation, were visible in the controversial writings of the Lutherans in behalf of Consubstantiation, or Impanation. The latter had, indeed, one absurdity less to maintain; but being obliged to assert, in opposition to intuitive evidence and unchangeable truth, that the same body can be in many places at the same time, they were consequently obliged to have recourse to the darkest and most intricate jargon of the schools, to hide the nonsense of this unaccountable doctrine. The modern Lutherans are grown somewhat wiser in this respect; at least, they seem less zealous than their ancestors about the tenet in question.

not essentially alter the doctrine of the Lutheran church on this important subject [r]. Be that as it may, his sentiments differed considerably from those of Zuingle; for, while the latter asserted, that all Christians, whether regenerate or unregenerate, might be partakers of the body and blood of Christ, Calvin confined this privilege to the pious and regenerate believer alone. CENT. XVI.

3dly, The absolute decree of God, with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race, which made no part of the theology of Zuingle, was an essential tenet in the creed of Calvin, who inculcated with zeal the following doctrine: that God, in predestinating, from all eternity, one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and another to endless misery, was led to make this distinction by no other motive than his own good pleasure and free will.

XIII. The first point was of such a nature, that, great as the credit and influence of Calvin were, he could not procure an universal reception for it in the

These changes made by Calvin are not approved or received by all the reformed churches.

[r] See Fueslini Centur. I. Epistol. Theol. Reform. tom. i. p. 255, 262.—Lettres de Calvin à Mons. de Falaise, p. 84.—We learn from Fueslin that Calvin wrote to Bucer a letter, intimating that he approved his sentiments. It is possible, that he may have derived from Bucer the opinion he entertained with respect to the eucharist.—See Bossuet's Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, tom. ii.; and Courayer's Examen des Defauts de Theologiens, tom. ii. These two writers pretend that the sentiments of Calvin, with respect to the eucharist, were almost the same with those of the catholics *. The truth of the matter is, that the obscurity and inconsistency with which this great man expressed himself upon that subject, render it extremely difficult to give a clear and accurate account of his doctrine.

☞ * How it could come into the heads of such men as Bossuet and Dr. Courayer to say, that "the sentiments of Calvin concerning the eucharist were almost the same with those of the catholics," is, indeed, strange enough. The doctrine of transubstantiation was to Calvin an invincible obstacle to any sort of conformity between him and Rome on that subject; for, however obscure and figurative his expressions with respect to Christ's spiritual presence in the eucharist may have been, he never once dreamed of any thing like a corporal presence in that holy sacrament.

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[s] See Fueslini Centur. Epistolar. p. 264.—Museum Helvet. tom. i. p. 490. tom. v. p. 479, 483. tom. ii. p. 79.

[t] Beside Ruchat and Hottinger, see Museum Helveticum, tom. ii.—Gerdes, Miscellan. Groningens. Nova, tom. ii.

[u] This agreement was concluded in 1549, for one point, and in 1554 for the other.

[w] See the Consensus Genev. et Tigurinor. in Calvini Opusculis.

[x] The learned Dan. Ern. Jablonsky, in his Letters to Leibnitz, published by Kappius, maintains (p. 24, 41), that the opinion of Zuingle has no longer any patrons among the reformed. But this is a palpable mistake: for its patrons and defenders are, on the contrary, extremely numerous; and at this very time the doctrine of Zuingle is received in England, Switzerland, and other countries, and seems to acquire new degrees of credit from day to day.

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The progress of Calvin's system in Germany;

XIV. It will not be improper to pass in review the different countries in which the doctrine and discipline of the reformed church, as modeled by Calvin, were established in a fixed and permanent manner. Among its chief patrons in Germany we may reckon Frederic III. elector Palatine, who, in 1560, removed from their pastoral functions the Lutheran doctors, and filled their places with Calvinists; and, at the same time, obliged his subjects to embrace the tenets, rites, and institutions of the church of Geneva[y]. This order was indeed abrogated, in 1576, by his son and successor Louis, who restored Lutheranism to its former credit and authority. The effects of this revolution were, however, transitory; for, in 1583, under the government of the elector John Casimir, who had followed the example of his brother Frederic in embracing the discipline of the reformed church, Calvinism resumed what it had lost, and became triumphant[z]. From this period the church of the Palatinate obtained the second place among the reformed churches; and its influence and reputation were so considerable, that the form of instruction, which was composed for its use by Ursinus, and which is known under the title of the *Catechism of Heidelberg*, was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists[a]. The republic of Bremen embraced, also, the same doctrine and institutions. Albert Hardenberg, the intimate friend of Melanchthon, was the first who attempted to introduce there the doctrine of Calvin concerning the eucharist. This attempt he made so early as the year 1556; and, though a powerful opposition rendered it at that time unsuc-

[y] Hen. Altingii Hist. Eccl. Palat. in Lud. Chr. Miegii Monum. Palat. tom. i. p. 223.—Loscheri Historia Motuum, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 125.—Salig, Hist. Confession. Aug. tom. iii. lib. ix. cap. v. p. 433.

[z] Alting. loc. cit.—Loschri Hist. par. iii. lib. vi. p. 324.—See also a German work, by Gotth. Struvius, entitled Pfaelzische Kirchen Historie, p. 110.

[a] For an account of the catechism of Heidelberg, see Kocheri Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ, p. 593 and 308.

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cessful, and procured the expulsion of its author from the city of Bremen, yet the latent seeds of Calvinism took root, and, toward the conclusion of this century, acquired such strength, that no measures either of prudence or force were sufficient to prevent the church of Bremen from regulating its faith, worship, and government, by that of Geneva [b]. The various motives that engaged other German states to adopt by degrees the same sentiments, and the incidents and circumstances that favored the progress of Calvinism in the empire, must be sought in those writers, who have undertaken to give an ample and complete history of the Christian church.

and in France.

XV. Those among the French, who first renounced the jurisdiction and doctrine of the church of Rome, are commonly called Lutherans by the writers of these early times. This denomination, joined to other circumstances, induced some to imagine, that these French converts to the protestant cause were attached to the tenets of the Lutheran church, and averse to those of the Swiss divines [c]. But this is by no means a just representation of the matter. It appears much more probable, that the first French protestants were uniform in nothing but their antipathy to the church of Rome, and that, this point being excepted, there was a great variety in their religious sentiments. It is, however, to be observed, that the vicinity of Geneva, Lausanne, and other cities which had adopted the doctrine of Calvin, together with the incredible zeal of this eminent man, and his two colleagues Farel and Beza, in nourishing the opposition to the church of Rome, and augmenting both the indignation and number of its enemies, produced a very remarkable effect upon the French churches; for, before the middle of this

[b] Salig, loc. cit. par. iii. lib. x. cap. v. p. 715. cap. vi. p. 776.—Loscherus, loc. cit. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 134, par. iii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 276.—Gerdes, Historia Renovati Evangelii, tom. iii. p. 157.

[c] Losch. par. ii. cap. vi.—Salig, tom. ii. lib. v. cap. vi.

century, they all entered into the bonds of fraternal communion with the church of Geneva. The French protestants were called by their enemies Huguenots, by way of derision and contempt; the origin, however, of this denomination is extremely uncertain [d]. Their fate was severe; the storms of persecution assailed them with unparalleled fury; and, though many princes of the royal blood, and the flower of the nobility, adopted their sentiments, and stood forth in their cause [e], no other part of the reformed church suffered so grievously as they did for the sake of religion. Even the peace, which they obtained from Henry III. in 1576, was the source of that civil war, in which the powerful and ambitious house of Guise, instigated by the sanguinary suggestions of the Roman pontiffs, aimed at nothing less than the extirpation of the royal family, and the utter ruin of the protestant religion; while the Huguenots, on the other hand,

☞ [d] Some etymologists suppose this term derived from *Huguon*, a word used in Touraine, to signify 'persons who 'walk at night in the streets;' and as the first Protestants, like the first Christians, may have chosen that season for their religious assemblies, through the fear of persecution, the nickname of *huguenot* may, naturally enough, have been applied to them by their enemies. Others are of opinion, that it was derived from a French and faulty pronunciation of the German word *eidgenossen*, which signifies *confederates*, and had been originally the name of that valiant part of the city of Geneva which entered into an alliance with the Swiss cantons, in order to maintain their liberties against the tyrannical attempts of Charles III. duke of Savoy. These confederates were called *egnotes*; and thence, very probably, was derived the word *huguenot*, now under consideration. The count de Villars, in a letter written to the king of France from the province of Languedoc, where he was lieutenant-general, and dated the 11th of November, 1560, calls the riotous Calvinists of the Cevennes, *Huguenots*; and this is the first time that the term is found in the registers of that province, applied to the protestants.

[e] See the Histoire Eccles. des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France, published at Antwerp in 1580, and supposed by many to have been written by Beza. The writers that have given the best accounts of the French reformed churches, their confession of faith, and their forms of worship and discipline, are enumerated by Kocher, in his Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ, p. 299.

CENT. XVI. headed by leaders of the most heroic valor and the most illustrious rank, combated for their religion and for their sovereigns with various success. These dreadful commotions, in which both the contending parties committed such deeds as are yet (and always will be) remembered with horror, were at length calmed by the fortitude and prudence of Henry IV. This monarch, indeed, sacrificed the dictates of conscience to the suggestions of policy; and imagining, that his government could have no stable or solid foundation, as long as he persisted in disowning the authority and jurisdiction of Rome, he renounced the reformed religion, and made a solemn and public profession of popery. Perceiving however, on the other hand, that it was not possible to extirpate or suppress entirely the protestant religion, he granted to its professors, by the famous edict promulgated at Nantes in 1598, the liberty of serving God according to their consciences[f], and a full security for the enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges, without persecution or molestation from any quarter[g].

In England and Scotland.

XVI. The church of Scotland acknowleges as its founder John Knox, the disciple of Calvin; and, accordingly, from its first reformation, it adopted the doctrine, rites, and form of ecclesiastical government established at Geneva. To these it has always adhered with the utmost uniformity, and has maintained them with the greatest jealousy and zeal; so that even in the last century the designs of those

[f] This edict restored and confirmed, in the fullest terms, all the favors that had ever been granted to the protestants by other princes, and particularly by Henry III. To these privileges some were added, which had never been granted or even demanded before; such as a free admission to all employments of trust, honor, and profit; the establishment of courts and chambers, in which the professors of the two religions were equal in number; and the permitting of the children of protestants to be educated, without any molestation or constraint, in the public universities.

[g] Benoit, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, tom. i. lib. v. p. 200.—Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. ix. p. 409.—Boulay, Hist. Academ. Paris. tom. vi.

who attempted to introduce certain changes into its discipline and worship, were publicly opposed by the force of arms [h]. CENT. XVI.

A quite different constitution is observable in the church of England, which could never be brought to an entire compliance with the ecclesiastical laws of Geneva, and which retained, but for a short time, even those which it adopted. It is well known, that the greatest part of those English, who first threw off the yoke of Rome, seemed much more inclined to the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, the form of public worship, and ecclesiastical government, than to those of the Swiss churches. But the scene changed after the death of Henry VIII. when, by the industrious zeal of Calvin, and his disciples, more especially Peter Martyr, the cause of Lutheranism lost ground considerably; and the universities, schools, and churches, became the oracles of Calvinism, which also acquired new votaries among the people from day to day [i]. Hence it happened, that, when it was proposed, in the reign of Edward VI., to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the church, Geneva was acknowleged as a sister church; and the theological system, there established by Calvin, was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This, however, was done without any change of the form of episcopal government, which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of Geneva; nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious ceremonies, which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the reformed. This difference, however, between the churches, though it appeared at first of little consequence, and, in the judgement even of Calvin, was deemed an object of toleration

[h] Salig, Hist. Aug. Confessionis, part ii. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 403. —☞ Dr. Mosheim alludes, in this passage, to the attempts made in the reign of Charles II. to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.

[i] Loscher, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. vii.—Salig, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii.

CENT. XVI. and indulgence, was nevertheless, in succeeding times, a source of dissensions and calamities, which were highly detrimental both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Great Britain.

The rise of the Puritans.

XVII. The origin of these unhappy dissensions, which it has not yet been possible entirely to heal, must be sought in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the sanguinary rage and inhuman tyranny of queen Mary, left their native country in 1554, and took refuge in Germany [k]. Of these fugitive congregations some performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorised by Edward

☞ [k] I cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles because they were *Sacramentarians* (for so the Lutherans called those who denied Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist), and expelled from their cities such of the English protestants as repaired to them, as a refuge from popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought an asylum in France, Geneva, and those parts of Switzerland and Germany where the Reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed to have places of public worship. But it was at Frankfort that the exiles were most numerous; and there began the contest and division which gave rise to that separation from the church of England, which continues to this day. It is, however, a piece of justice due to the memory of the excellent Melanchthon, to observe, that he warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment, and more especially the indecent reproaches which the Lutherans cast upon the English martyrs who had sealed the Reformation, whom they called the *Devil's martyrs*. "Vociferantur quidam, (says this amiable reformer) Martyres Anglicos esse Martyres Diaboli. Nolim hac contumeliâ afficere sanctum spiritum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris quos novi." These are the words of this truly Christian reformer, in one of his letters to Camerarius, Epist. lib. iv. p. 959; and in another of his letters, speaking of the burning of Burgius at Paris, he thus severely censures Westphal's intolerant principles: "Tales viros ait Westphalus esse Diaboli Martyres. Hanc judicii perversitatem quis non detestetur?" Ep. lib. ii. p. 387. Such were the humane and liberal sentiments of Melanchthon, which have rendered his name so precious to the lovers of piety, probity, and moderation, while the zealots of his own church have treated his memory with obloquy, and composed dissertations *de indifferentismo Melanchthonis*.

VI., while others preferred the Swiss method of worship as more recommendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called *Conformists*, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by that prince; and the denominations of *Non-conformists* and *Puritans* were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship, more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the liturgy of Edward seemed to them to be. The controversy concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship that had divided these protestants when they were in exile, changed scenes, and was removed with them to England, when the auspicious accession of Elizabeth to the throne permitted them to return to their native country. The hopes of enjoying liberty, and of promoting their respective systems, increased their contests instead of diminishing them; and the breach was widened to such a degree, that the most sagacious and provident observers of things seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen, in her design to accomplish the reformation of the church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model exhibited by the protestants of Geneva, and by their adherents the Puritans; and, therefore, she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors, who were employed in this weighty and important matter, the practice and institutions of the primitive ages[1]. When her plan

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CENT. XVI. by the title of bishop, or superintendant, should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding; but they deemed it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked, as the bishops had hitherto been, among the nobility of the kingdom, employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on, however, with excessive animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right, purely human, to the rank they held in church and state. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in 1588, when Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to assert, that the episcopal order was superior to the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by the express appointment of God himself[n]. This doctrine was readily adopted by many, and the consequences that seemed naturally to flow from it in favor of episcopal ordination, happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy; for they who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft, considered all ministers of the Gospel, who had not received ordination from a bishop, as not properly invested with the sacred character, and also maintained that the clergy, in those countries where there were no bishops, were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be deemed inferior to the Roman catholic priests.

[n] See Strype's Life and Acts of John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, p. 121. ☞ The first English reformers admitted but two orders of church officers to be of divine appointment, viz. bishops and deacons; a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being merely two names for the same office; but Dr. Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's cross (January 12, 1588), maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino*.

XIX. All these things exasperated the puritans, whose complaints, however, were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against cathedral churches, and demanded the abolition of the archdeacons, deans, canons, and other officials, that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music, as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great; for they were of opinion, that not only open profligates, but even persons whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from the communion of the church [o]: and they endeavoured to justify the rigor of this decision, by observing, that, as the church was the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers, than to guard against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found, moreover, much subject of affliction and complaint in the ceremonies that were imposed by the queen's order, and by the authority of her council [p]. Among these were the festivals or holydays

☞ [o] The puritans justified themselves in relation to this point, in a letter addressed from their prison to queen Elizabeth, in 1592, by observing, that their sentiments concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and also with regard to the effects and extent of that act of church discipline, were conformable to those of all the reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the church of England in particular. They declared more especially, that, according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or public, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life; and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical anabaptists, who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.

☞ [p] By this council our author means, the High-Commission court, of which it is proper to give some account, as its proceedings essentially belong to the ecclesiastical history of

CENT. XVI. that were celebrated in honor of the saints, the use of the sign of the cross, more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nomination of godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children, whose parents were still living [q], and the doctrine

England. This court took its rise from a remarkable clause in the act of supremacy, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons "to exercise, under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend, all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences and enormities whatsoever; provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation." Upon the authority of this clause, the queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who, in many instances, abused their power. The court they composed, was called *the Court of High Commission*, because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction, and higher powers, than the ordinary courts of the bishops. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of lord Cromwell, vicar-general of Henry VIII. These commissioners were empowered to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries, and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were invested with a right to examine such persons as they suspected, by administering to them an oath (not allowed in their commission, and therefore called *ex officio*), by which they were required to answer all questions, and thereby might be obliged to accuse themselves or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed, when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of a real inquisition. See Rapin's and Hume's Histories of England, and Neal's History of the Puritans.

☞ [q] Other rites and customs displeasing to the puritans, and omitted by our author, were, kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing of it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.

relating to the validity of lay-baptism [r]. They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; and, with respect to set forms of prayer, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right to all ministers, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner, as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those which were dictated by others. In a word, they were of opinion, that the government and discipline of the church of England ought to have been modeled after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of Geneva, and that no indulgence was to be shewn to those ceremonies or practices, which bore the smallest resemblance to the discipline or worship of the church of Rome. CENT. XVI.

XX. These sentiments, considered in themselves, seemed neither susceptible of a satisfactory defence, nor of a complete refutation. Their solidity or falsehood depended upon the principles from which they were derived; and no regular controversy could be carried on upon these matters, until the contending parties adopted some common and evident principles, by which they might corroborate their respective systems. It is only by an examination of these, that The principles on which the Puritans maintained their sentiments concerning ecclesiastical government and divine worship.

[r] The words of the original are, "nec sacris Christianis pueros recens natos ab aliis, quam sacerdotibus, initiari patiebantur." The Roman catholics, who look upon the external rite of baptism as absolutely necessary to salvation, consequently allow it to be performed by a layman, or a midwife, where a clergyman is not at hand, or (if such a ridiculous thing may be mentioned) by a surgeon, where a still birth is apprehended. The church of England, though it teacheth in general, that none ought to baptise but men dedicated to the service of God, yet doth not deem null baptism performed by laics or women, because it makes a difference between what is essential to a sacrament, and what is requisite to the regular way of using it. The Puritans, that they might neither prescribe, nor even connive at a practice that seemed to be founded on the absolute necessity of infant baptism, would allow that sacred rite to be performed by the clergy alone.

CENT. XVI. it can be known on which side the truth lies, and what degree of utility or importance can be attributed to a contest of this nature. The principles laid down by the queen's commissioners on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other, were indeed very different.

For, in the first place, the former maintained, that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions, and of correcting the errors that might have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church, was lodged in the sovereign, or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied, that the power of the magistrate extended so far, and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin, as has been already observed.

Secondly, the queen's commissioners maintained, that the rules of proceeding, in reforming the doctrine or discipline of the church, were not to be derived from the sacred writings alone, but also from the writings and decisions of the fathers in the primitive ages. The Puritans, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired word of God being the pure and only fountain of wisdom and truth, it was thence alone that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship, of the church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all authority.

Thirdly, the commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was, nevertheless, to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that the ministers ordained by him were qualified for performing the pastoral

duties. This was a point which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could not otherwise claim the honor of deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the Puritans entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as Anti-Christ, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the Gospel; and, in consequence of these sentiments, they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion. CENT. XVI.

Fourthly, the commissioners considered, as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alleged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the form, mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also to the ends of civil policy. The Puritans asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline [s]; and that the apostles, in establishing the first Christian church on the aristocratic plan that

[s] By this they meant, at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was expressly contained in the Scriptures, or deduced from them by necessary consequence. They maintained still farther, that supposing it proved, that all things necessary to the good government of the church could not be deduced from those writings, yet the discretionary power of supplying this defect was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.

CENT. XVI. was then observed in the Jewish Sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model, to be followed in all times, and in all places.

Lastly, the court reformers were of opinion, that things *indifferent*, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal than an act of rebellion against the laws of the state. The Puritans alleged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose, as necessary and indispensable, those things which Christ had left in the class of matters indifferent, since this was a manifest encroachment upon that liberty with which the divine Saviour had indulged us. To this they added, that such ceremonies as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could by no means be considered as indifferent, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the queen and her council [t].

[t] Dr. Mosheim, in these five articles, has followed the account of this controversy given by Mr. Neal. This writer adds a sixth article, not of debate, but of union. "Both parties (says he) agreed too well in asserting the necessity of an uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy, and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives."

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The Brownists, a sect of Puritans.

XXI. This contest between the commissioners of the court, and those religionists who desired a more complete reformation than had yet taken place, would have been much more dangerous in its consequences, had the party, distinguished by the general denomination of *Puritans*, been united in their sentiments, views, and measures. But the case was quite otherwise; for this large body, composed of persons of different ranks, characters, opinions, and intentions, and unanimous in nothing but their antipathy to the forms of doctrine and discipline that were established by law, was suddenly divided into a variety of sects; of which some spread abroad the delusions of enthusiasm, which had turned their own brains; while others displayed their folly in inventing new and whimsical plans of church-government. Of all these sects the most famous was that which was formed, about the year 1581, by Robert Brown, an insinuating man, but very unsettled and inconsistent in his views and notions of things. This innovator did not greatly differ, in point of doctrine, either from the church of England, or from the rest of the Puritans; but he had formed singular notions concerning the nature of the church, and the rules of ecclesiastical government. He was for dividing the whole body of the faithful into separate societies or congregations, not larger than those which were formed by the apostles in the infancy of Christianity; and maintained, that such a number of persons, as could be contained in an ordinary place of worship, ought to be considered as a church, and enjoy all the rights and privileges that are competent to an ecclesiastical community. These small societies he pronounced independent, *jure divino*, and entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, in whose hands the court placed the reins of spiritual government; and also from that of synods, which the Puritans in general regarded as the supreme visible sources of ecclesiastical authority. He also maintained, that the power of governing each congrega-

CENT. XVI. tion, and providing for its welfare, resided in the people; and that each member had an equal share in this direction, and an equal right to regulate affairs for the good of the whole society [u]. Hence all points both of doctrine and discipline were submitted to the discussion of the whole congregation, and whatever was supported by a majority of votes passed into a law. It was the congregation also that elected some of the brethren to the office of pastors, to perform the duty of public instruction, and the several branches of divine worship; reserving, however, the power of dismissing these ministers, and reducing them to the condition of private members, whenever such a change should appear to be conducive to the spiritual advantage of the community. For these pastors were not esteemed superior, either in sanctity or rank, to the rest of their brethren, nor distinguished from them by any other circumstance than the liberty of preaching and praying, which they derived from the free will and consent of the congregation. It is, besides, to be observed, that their right of preaching was by no means of an exclusive nature, or peculiar to them alone, since any member that thought proper to exhort or instruct the brethren, was abundantly indulged in the liberty of *prophesying* to the whole assembly. Accordingly, when the ordinary teacher or pastor had finished his discourse, all the other brethren were permitted to communicate in public their sentiments and illustrations upon any useful or edifying subject, on which they sup-

☞ [u] It is farther to be observed, that, according to this system, one church was not entitled to exercise jurisdiction over another; but each might give the other counsel or admonition, if its members walked in a disorderly manner, or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and, if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were allowed to disown it publicly as a church of Christ. On the other hand, the powers of the church-officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastor of the church might not administer the sacrament of baptism, or the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion.

posed they could throw new light. In a word, Brown endeavoured to model the form of the church after the infant community that was founded by the apostles, without once considering the important changes which had taken place since that time, both in the religious and civil state of the world, the influence that these changes must necessarily have upon all ecclesiastical establishments, or the particular circumstances of the Christian church, in consequence of its former corruptions and its late reformation. And, if his notions were crude and chimerical, the zeal, with which he and his associates maintained and propagated them, was intemperate and extravagant in the highest degree; for he affirmed, that all communion was to be broken off with those religious societies which were founded upon a different plan from his, and treated more especially the church of England as a spurious church, whose ministers were unlawfully ordained, whose discipline was popish and antichristian, and whose sacraments and institutions were destitute of all efficacy and virtue. The sect of this hot-headed innovator, not being able to endure the severe treatment which their opposition to the established forms of religious government and worship had drawn upon them, from an administration that was not distinguished by its mildness and indulgence, retired into the Netherlands, and founded churches at Middelburg, Amsterdam, and Leyden; but their establishments were neither solid nor durable[x]. Their founder returned into England, and, having renounced his principles of separation, took orders in the established church, and obtained a

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☞ [x] The British churches at Amsterdam and Middelburg are incorporated into the national Dutch church, and their pastors are members of the Dutch synod, which is sufficient to shew that there are at this time no traces of Brownism or Independency in these churches. The church at Leyden, where Robinson had fixed the standard of independency, about the year 1595, was dispersed; and it is very remarkable, that some members of this church, transplanting themselves into America, laid the foundation of the colony of New-England.

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benefice [y]. The puritan exiles, whom he thus abandoned, disagreed among themselves, and split into parties; and their affairs declined from day to day [z]. This engaged the wiser part of them to mitigate the severity of their founder's plan, and to soften the rigor of his uncharitable decisions; and hence arose the community of the *Independents*, or *Congregational Brethren;* a sect which still subsists, and of which an account shall be given in the history of the following century.

The state of the reformed church in the Netherlands,

XXII. In the Belgic provinces, the friends of the Reformation seemed for a long time uncertain, whether they should embrace the communion of the Swiss or that of the Lutheran church. Each of these had zealous friends and powerful patrons [a]. The matter was, nevertheless, decided in 1571, and the religious system of Calvin was publicly adopted; for the Belgic confession of faith, which then appeared [b], was drawn up in the spirit, and almost in the terms, of that which was received in the reformed churches of France, and differed considerably, in several respects, from the confession of Augsburg, but more especially in the article relating to Christ's presence in the eucharist [c]. This will not appear surprising to those who consider the vicinity of the French to the Low-Countries, the number of French protestants constantly passing or sojourning there, the extraordinary reputation of Calvin and of the college of Geneva, and the indefatigable zeal of his disciples in extending the limits of their church, and propagating throughout Europe their system of doctrine, dis-

☞ [y] Brown, in his new preferment, forgot, not only the rigor of his principles, but also the gravity of his former morals; for he led a very idle and dissolute life. See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i.

[z] Neal, vol. i. chap. vi.—Hoornbeckii Summa Controvers. lib. x. p. 738.—Fuller's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, book x.

[a] Loscher, par. iii. lib. v. cap. iv.

[b] Kocheri Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ, p. 216.

[c] See Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Netherlands (written in Dutch), vol. i. book v.

cipline, and government. Be that as it may, from this period, the Dutch, who had before been denominated *Lutherans*, assumed universally the title of *Reformed*, in which also they imitated the French, by whom this title had been first invented and adopted. It is true, that, as long as they were subject to the Spanish yoke, the fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure of their sovereign induced them to avoid the title of *Reformed*, and to call themselves *Associates of the Brethren of the Confession of Augsburg*; for the Lutherans were esteemed, by the Spanish court, much better subjects than the disciples of Calvin, who, on account of the tumults which had lately prevailed in France, were supposed to have a greater propensity to mutiny and sedition [d]. CENT. XVI.

XXIII. The light of the Reformation was first transmitted from Saxony into Poland by the disciples of Luther. Some time after this happy period, the Bohemian Brethren, whom the Romish clergy had expelled from their country, as also several Helvetic doctors, propagated their sentiments among the Polanders. Some congregations were also founded in that republic by the Anabaptists, Anti-Trinitarians, and other sectaries [e]. Hence it was, that three distinct communities, each of which adopted the main principles of the Reformation, were to be found in Poland,—the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans and Swiss. These communities, in order to defend themselves with the greater vigor against their common enemies, formed among themselves a kind of confederacy, in a synod held at Sendomir in 1570, and in Poland.

[d] Dr. Mosheim advances this on the authority of a passage in Brandt's History of the Reformation, which is a most curious and valuable work, notwithstanding the author's partiality to the cause of Arminianism, of which he was one of the most respectable patrons.

[e] Loscher, par. iii. lib. v. cap. iii.—Salig, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. iv. v.—Regenvolscii Hist. Eccles. Slavonicar. lib. i. cap. xvi.—Solignac, Hist. de Pologne, tom. v.—Kautz, Præcipua Relig. Evangel. in Poloniâ Fata, published at Hamburg, in 1738.

CENT. XVI. on certain conditions, which were comprehended in the Confession of Faith that derives its title from the city now mentioned[f]. But, as this association seemed rather adapted to accelerate the conclusion of peace, than to promote the cause of truth, the points in debate between the Lutherans and the Reformed being expressed in this reconciling confession in vague and ambiguous terms, it was soon after this warmly opposed by many of the former, and was entirely annulled in the following century. Many attempts have, indeed, been made to revive it; but they have not answered the expectations of those who have employed their dexterity and zeal in this matter. In Prussia the Reformed gained ground after the death of Luther and Melanchthon, and founded the flourishing churches which still subsist in that country[g].

The Bohemian Brethren.

XXIV. The Bohemian, or (as they are otherwise called) Moravian Brethren, who descended from the better sort of Hussites, and were distinguished by several religious institutions of a singular nature, which were well adapted to guard their community against the reigning vices and corruptions of the times, had no sooner heard of Luther's design of reforming the church, than they sent deputies, in 1522, to recommend themselves to his friendship and good offices. In succeeding times, they continued to discover the same zealous attachment to the Lutheran churches in Saxony, and also to those which were founded in other countries. These offers could not be well accepted without a previous examination of their religious sentiments and principles: and, indeed, this examination turned to their advantage; for neither Luther nor his disciples found any thing, either in their doctrine or discipline, that was, in any

[f] See Dan. Ernest Jablonsky's Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis, published at Berlin, in 1731; as also the Epistola Apologetica of the same author, in defence of the work now mentioned, against the objections of an anonymous author.

[g] Loscher, par. iii. lib. vi. cap. i.

great measure, liable to censure; and though he could not approve every part of their Confession of Faith, which they submitted to his judgement, yet he looked upon it as an object of toleration and indulgence [h]. Nevertheless, the death of Luther, and the expulsion of these Brethren from their country in 1547, gave a new turn to their religious connexions; and great numbers of them, more especially of those who retired into Poland, embraced the religious sentiments and discipline of the Reformed. The attachment of the Bohemians to the Lutherans seemed, indeed, to be revived by the Convention of Sendomir; but, as the articles of union, drawn up in that assembly, soon lost all their force and authority, all the Bohemians gradually entered into the communion of the Swiss church [i]. This union was at first formed on the express condition, that the two churches should continue to be governed by their respective laws and institutions, and should have separate places of public worship; but, in the following century, all remains of dissension were removed in the synods holden at Ostrog in 1620 and 1627, and the two congregations were formed into one, under the title of The Church of the United Brethren. In this coalition the reconciled parties shewed to each other reciprocal marks of toleration and indulgence; for the external form of the church was regulated by the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren, and the articles of faith were taken from the creed of the Calvinists [k]. CENT. XVI.

XXV. The descendants of the Waldenses, who lived shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, were naturally led, by their situation in the neighbourhood of the French, and of the republic of Geneva, to embrace The Waldenses, Hungarians, and Transylvanians.

[h] See a German work of Carpzovius, entitled, Nachricht von den Bohmischen Brudern, p. 46; as also Jo. Chr. Kocheri Biblioth. p. 76.

[i] Beside Comenius, Camerarius, and Lasitius, who have written professedly the history of the Bohemian Brethren, see Loscher, par. iii. lib. v. cap. vi.—Salig, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii.—Regenvolsc. lib. i. cap. xiii. xiv. xv.

[k] Regenvolscii Hist. lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 120.

CENT. XVI. the doctrines and rites of the reformed church. So far down, however, as the year 1630, they retained a considerable part of their ancient discipline and tenets; but the plague that broke out in that year having destroyed the greatest part of this unhappy people, and among the rest a considerable number of their pastors and clergy, they addressed themselves to the French churches for spiritual succour; and the new doctors, who were sent in consequence of that invitation, made several changes in the discipline and doctrine of the Waldenses, and rendered them conformable, in every respect, with those of the protestant churches in France [l].

The Hungarians and Transylvanians were engaged to renounce the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome by the writings of Luther, and the ministry of his disciples. But, some time after, Matthias Devay, and other doctors, began to introduce, in a secret manner, among these nations, the doctrines of the Swiss churches in relation to the eucharist, as also their principles of ecclesiastical government. This doctrine and these principles were propagated in a more open and public manner about the year 1550, by Szegedin and other Calvinist teachers, whose ministry was attended with remarkable success. This change was followed by the same dissensions that had broken out in other countries on similar occasions; and these dissensions grew into an open schism among the friends of the Reformation in these provinces, which the lapse of time has rather confirmed than diminished [m].

Of the Lutheran churches that embraced Calvinism.

XXVI. After the solemn publication of the famous Form of Concord, many German churches, of the Lutheran communion, dissolved their original bonds,

[l] Leger, Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises, livr. i. chap. xxxiii. p. 205, 206.—Abr. Sculteti Annales Renovati Evangelii, p. 294.—Dan. Gerdes, Hist. Renovati Evangelii, tom. ii. p. 401.

[m] Pauli Debrezeni Historia Eccles. Reform. in Hungar. et Transylvan. lib. ii. p. 64, 72, 98.—Unschuld. Nachricht, An. 1738, p. 1076.—Georg. Haneri Historia Eccles. Transylv.

and embraced the doctrine and discipline of Calvin. CENT. XVI.
Among these we may place the churches of Nassau, Hanau, and Isenburg, with several others of less note. In 1595, the princes of Anhalt, influenced by the counsels of Wolfgang Amling, renounced also the profession of Lutheranism, and introduced into their dominions the religious tenets and rites of Geneva this revolution, however, produced a long and warm controversy between the Lutherans and the inhabitants of the principality [n]: The doctrines of the Calvinist or reformed church, particularly those which relate to the eucharist, were also introduced into Denmark, toward the conclusion of this century; for, in this kingdom, the disciples and votaries of Melanchthon, who had always discovered a strong propensity to a union between the protestant churches, were extremely numerous, and they had at their head Nicolas Hemmingius, a man eminent for his piety and learning. But the views of this divine, and the schemes of his party, being discovered much sooner than they expected, by the vigilant defenders of the Lutheran cause, their plans were disconcerted [o], and the progress of Calvinism was successfully opposed by the Lutheran ministers, seconded by the countenance and authority of the sovereign [p].

[n] See, for an account of this matter, the German work of Bechman, which is entitled Historie des Hauses Anhalt, vol. ii. p. 133, and that of Kraft, which bears the title of Ausfuhrliche Historie von dem Exorcismo, p. 428, 497. ☞ Though the princes professed Calvinism, and introduced Calvinist ministers into all the churches, where they had the right of patronage, yet the people were left free in their choice; and the noblemen and their vassals, who were attached to Lutheranism, had secured to them the unrestrained exercise of their religion. By virtue of a convention made in 1679, the Lutherans were permitted to erect new churches. The Zerbst line, and the greatest part of its subjects, profess Lutheranism; but the three other lines, with their respective people, are Calvinists.

[o] Erici Pontoppidani Annal. Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici, tom. iii. p. 57.

☞ [p] That is (for our author consistently with truth can mean no more) the designs, that were formed to render Calvinism the national and established religion, proved abortive. It is certain,

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The diversity that reigned among the various branches of the reformed church.

XXVII. It must not, however, be imagined, that the different nations which embraced the communion of the Calvinist church, adopted, at the same time, without exception, all its tenets, rites, and institutions. This universal conformity was, indeed, ardently desired by the Helvetic doctors; but their desires, in this respect, were far from being accomplished. The English, as is sufficiently known, rejected the forms of ecclesiastical government and religious worship that were adopted by the other reformed churches, and could not be persuaded to receive, as public and national articles of faith, the doctrines that were propagated in Switzerland, in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper and the divine decrees[q]. The protestants in Holland, Bremen, Poland, Hungary,

however, that Calvinism made a very considerable progress in Denmark, and has still a great number of votaries in that kingdom.

☞ [q] It is true, that the doctrine of Zuingle, who represented the bread and wine as nothing more than the external signs of the death of Christ, was not adopted by the church of England; but the doctrine of Calvin was embraced by that church, and is plainly taught in the xxviiith article of its faith. As to what relates to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Dr. Mosheim is equally in an error. The xviith article of the church of England is, as bishop Burnet candidly acknowleges, framed according to St. Augustin's doctrine, which scarcely differs at all from that of Calvin; and though it be expressed with a certain latitude that renders it susceptible of a mitigated interpretation, yet it is very probable, that those who penned it were patrons of the doctrine of absolute decrees. The very cautions, that are subjoined to this article, intimate, that Calvinism was what it was meant to establish. It is certain, that the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination prevailed among the first English reformers, the greatest part of whom were, at least, *Sublapsarians*; in the reign of queen Elizabeth this doctrine was predominant, but after that period it lost ground imperceptibly, and was renounced by the church of England in the reign of king Charles I. Some members of that church still adhered, nevertheless, to the tenets of Calvin, and maintained, not only that the thirty-nine articles were Calvinistical, but also affirmed that they were not susceptible of that latitude of interpretation for which the Arminians contended. These episcopal votaries of Calvinism were called *Doctrinal Puritans*. See Burnet's Exposition of the Seventeenth Article, &c., and Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 579.

and the Palatinate, followed, indeed, the French and Helvetic churches in their sentiments concerning the eucharist, in the simplicity of their worship, and in their principles of ecclesiastical polity; but not in their notions of *predestination*, which intricate doctrine they left undefined, and submitted to the free examination and private judgement of every individual [r]. It may farther be affirmed, that, before the synod of Dordrecht [s], no reformed church had obliged its members, by any special law or article of faith, to adhere to the doctrine of the church of Geneva relating to the primary causes of the salvation of the elect, or the ruin of the reprobate. It is true, that, in the countries now mentioned, the greatest part of the reformed doctors fell by degrees, of their own accord, into the Calvinistical opinion concerning these intricate points; and this was principally owing, no doubt, to the great reputation of the college of Geneva, which was generally frequented, in this century, by those among the reformed who were candidates for the ministry.

The doctrine adopted by the reformed churches.

XXVIII. The books of the Old and New Testament are regarded by the reformed churches as the only sources of Divine Truth; it must however be observed, that, to their authority, the church of England adds that of the writings of the Fathers during the first five centuries [t]. The reformed and

[r] See Grotii Apologet. eorum, qui Hollandiæ ante mutationem, An. 1618, præfuerunt, cap. iii.

☞ [s] It was in this famous synod, that was assembled in the year 1618, and of which we shall have occasion to give a more ample account in the history of the following century, that the doctrine of Calvin was fixed as the national and established religion of the Seven United Provinces.

☞ [t] There is nothing in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which implies its considering the writings of the Fathers of the first five centuries, as an authoritative criterion of religious truth. There is, indeed, a clause in the Act of Uniformity, passed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, declaring that her delegates, in ecclesiastical matters, should not determine any thing to be heresy, but what was adjudged so by the authority of Scripture, or by the first four general councils; and this

CENT. XVI. the Lutherans agree in maintaining that the Scriptures are infallible in all things; that, in matters of which the knowlege is necessary to salvation, they are clear, and complete; and also that they are to be explained by themselves, and not by the dictates of human reason, or the decisions of the ancient Fathers. Several of the doctors among the former have indeed employed too freely the sagacity of their natural understanding, in explaining the divine mysteries that are contained in the Gospel; and this circumstance has induced many to imagine, that the reformed adopted two sources of religion, two criterions of divine truth, viz. the Scripture and human reason. But perhaps it will be found, that, in this respect, doctors of both communions have sometimes gone too far, being led on by the spirit of controversy, and animated with the desire of victory; for, if we except the singular tenets of some individuals, it may be affirmed with truth, that the Lutherans and the reformed are unanimous in the matter now under consideration. They both maintain, that contradictory propositions cannot be the objects of faith; and consequently that all doctrines which contain such ideas and notions as are repugnant to and destroy each other, must be false and incredible. It is true, indeed, that the reformed sometimes use this principle in a contentious manner, to overturn certain points of the Lutheran system, which they have thought proper to reject [u].

The points in which the reformed and Lutherans disagree.

XXIX. The reformed, if by this denomination we understand those who embrace the sentiments of

has perhaps misled Dr. Mosheim in the passage to which this note refers. Much respect, indeed (perhaps too much), has been paid to the Fathers; but that has been always a matter of choice, and not of obligation.

☞ [u] Our author has here undoubtedly in view the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, which supposes the same extended body to be totally present in different places at one and the same time. To call this a gross and glaring contradiction, seems rather the dictate of common sense, than the suggestion of a contentious spirit.

Calvin, differ entirely from the Lutherans in the following points: CENT. XVI.

1st, In their notions of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Lutherans affirm that the body and blood of Christ are materially present in this sacrament, though in an incomprehensible manner; and that they are really exhibited, both to the righteous and the wicked, to the worthy and to the unworthy receiver. The reformed hold, on the contrary, that the man Christ is only present in this ordinance by the external signs of bread and wine, though it must, at the same time, be observed, that this matter is differently explained and represented in the writings of their theologians.

2dly, In their doctrine of the eternal decrees of God, respecting man's salvation. The Lutherans maintain, that the divine decrees respecting the salvation or misery of men are founded upon a previous knowlege of their sentiments and characters; or, in other words, that God, foreseeing from all eternity the faith or incredulity of different persons, had reserved eternal happiness for the faithful, and eternal misery for the unbelieving and disobedient. The reformed entertain different sentiments concerning this intricate point. They consider the divine decrees as free and unconditional, and as founded on the will of God, which is limited by no superior order, and which is above all laws.

3dly, Concerning some religious rites and institutions, which the Reformed consider as bordering upon superstition, or tending, at least, to promote it, while the Lutherans view them in another light, and represent all of them as tolerable, and some of them as useful. Such are, the use of images in the churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's supper, the form of exorcism in the celebration of baptism, and other ceremonies of like moment. The reformed doctors insist on the abolition of all these rites and institutions, upon this

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general principle, that the discipline and worship of the Christian church ought to be restored to their primitive simplicity, and freed from the human inventions and additions that were employed by superstition in the times of ignorance, to render them more striking to the deluded multitude.

The importance of these differences.

XXX. The few heads of difference, between the two communions, which have been now briefly pointed out, have furnished an inexhaustible fund of controversy to the contending parties, and been drawn out into a multitude of intricate questions, and subjects of debate, that, by consequences, fairly or injudiciously deduced, have widened the scene of contention, and extended to almost all the important truths of religion. Thus the debate concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist, opened to the disputants a large field of inquiry; in which the nature and fruits of the institutions called sacraments, the majesty and glory of Christ's human nature, together with the communication of the divine perfections to it, and the inward frame of spirit that is required in the worship addressed to the Saviour, were carefully examined. In like manner, the controversy, which had for its object the divine decrees, led the doctors, by whom it was carried on, into the most subtile and profound researches concerning the nature of the divine attributes, particularly those of justice and goodness, the doctrines of fate and necessity, the connexion between human liberty and divine prescience; the extent of God's love to mankind, and of the benefits that arise from the merits of Christ as mediator; the operations of that divine spirit, or power, which rectifies the wills and sanctifies the affections of men; the perseverance of the elect in their covenant with God, and in a state of salvation; and other points of great moment. The subject of debate, that was drawn from the use of external ceremonies in religious worship, was also productive of several questions and inquiries; for, beside the researches into the origin and antiquity of

certain institutions to which it gave occasion, it naturally led to a discussion of the following important questions: viz. "What are the special marks that characterise things *indifferent?*—How far is it lawful to comply with the demands of an adversary, whose opposition is only directed against things esteemed indifferent in their own nature?—What is the extent of Christian liberty?—Is it lawful to retain, in condescension to the prejudices of the people, or with a view to their benefit, certain ancient rites and institutions, which, although they carry a superstitious aspect, may nevertheless be susceptible of a favorable and rational interpretation?"

To whom the right of governing the church belongs.

XXXI. It has always been a question much debated among protestants, and more especially in England and Holland, where it has excited great commotions and tumults,—to whom the right of governing the church, and the power of deciding in religious matters, properly belong? This controversy has been determined in favor of those who maintain, that the power of deciding, in matters of religious doctrine, discipline, and government, is, by the appointment of Christ himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought by no means to be intrusted with the civil magistrate; while, at the same time, they grant, that it is the business of the latter to assist the church with his protection and advice, to convoke and preside in its synods and councils, to take care that the clergy do not attempt to carry on any thing that may be prejudicial to the interests of the state, and, by his authority, to confirm the validity, and secure the execution of the different laws enacted by the church under his inspection. It is true, that from the time of Henry VIII. the sovereigns of England consider themselves as supreme heads of the church, in relation to its spiritual, as well as its temporal concerns; and it is plain enough, that, on the strength of this important title, both Henry and his son Edward assumed an extensive authority and jurisdiction in the church, and looked upon their spiritual

CENT. XVI. power, as equal to that which had been unworthily enjoyed by the Roman pontiff[w]. But queen Elizabeth receded considerably from these high pretensions, and diminished the spiritual power of her successors, by declaring that the royal jurisdiction extended only to the ministers of religion, and not to religion itself; to the rulers of the church, and not to the church itself; or, in other words, that the persons of the clergy were alone subject to their civil authority[x]. Accordingly, we see that the constitution of the church of England perfectly resembles that of the state, and that a striking analogy exists between the civil and ecclesiastical government established in that country. The clergy, consisting of the upper and lower houses of convocation, are immediately assembled by the archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of an order from the sovereign, and propose in these meetings, by common consent, such measures as seem necessary to the well-being of the church. These measures are laid before the king and parliament, and derive from their approbation and authority the force of laws[y]. But it must be acknowleged, that this matter has given occasion to much altercation and debate; nor has it been found easy to fix the extent of the jurisdiction and prerogatives of these great bodies in a manner conformable to their respective pretensions, since the king and his council explain them in one way, and the clergy, more especially those who are zealous for the spiritual supremacy and independency of the church, understand them in another.

[w] See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 11.

[x] See Courayer's Supplement aux deux Ouvrages pour la Defense de la Validité des Ordinations Anglicanes, chap. xv.

☞ This must be understood with many restrictions, if it can be at all admitted. The whole tenor of queen Elizabeth's reign shewed plainly that she did not pretend to less power in religious matters than any of her predecessors.

☞ [y] Jo. Cosinus, de Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione et Disciplinâ, in the learned Thomas Smith's Vitæ Eruditiss. Virorum, published in 1707.—See also Dav. Wilkins, de Veteri et Modernâ Synodi Anglic. Constitutione, tom. i. Concil. Magn. Britann. p. 7.—Neal, vol. i.

The truth of the matter is plainly this, that the ecclesiastical polity in England has never acquired a stable and consistent form; nor has it been reduced to clear and certain principles. It has rather been carried on and administered by ancient custom and precedent, than defined and fixed by any regular system of laws and institutions. CENT. XVII.

XXXII. If it was not an easy matter to determine in what hands the power of deciding affairs of a religious nature was to be lodged, it was no less difficult to fix the form of ecclesiastical government in which this power was to be administered. Many vehement disputes were kindled on this subject, which neither the lapse of time, nor the efforts of human wisdom, have been able to bring to an amicable issue. The republic of Geneva, in consequence of the counsels of Calvin, judged it proper that the particular affairs of each church should be directed by a body of presbyters, all invested with an equal degree of power and authority; that matters of a more public and important nature were to be submitted to the judgement of an assembly, or synod, composed of elders chosen as deputies by the churches of a whole province or district; and that all affairs of such extensive influence and high moment, as concerned the welfare of the sacred community in general, should be examined and decided, as in early times, by an assembly of the whole church. This form of ecclesiastical government the church of Geneva adopted for itself[z], and left no intreaties or methods of per- The form of ecclesiastical government among the reformed.

☞ [z] The account which Dr. Mosheim gives here and above (sect. xii. of this chapter) of the form of ecclesiastical government established by Calvin at Geneva, is far from being accurate. There are but two ecclesiastical bodies in that republic, viz. the venerable company of the pastors and professors, and the consistory; for a just description of which, see the judicious Mr. Keate's 'Short Account of the Ancient History, present Government, and Laws of the Republic of Geneva,' published in 1761.—I would only remark that what this sensible author observes, with respect to the consistory, in p. 124 of his interesting performance, belongs principally, if not wholly, to the venerable

CENT. XVI. suasion unemployed, that might recommend it to those reformed churches with which they lived in fraternal communion. But it was obstinately rejected by the English clergy, who regarded as sacred and immutable that ancient form of spiritual government, according to which a certain district or diocese is committed to the care and inspection of one ruler or bishop, to whom the presbyters of each church are subject, as also the deacons are to the presbyters; while the general interests of the church are treated and discussed in an assembly of bishops, and of such ecclesiastics as are next to them in rank and dignity. This form of episcopal polity was, with some small exceptions, adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian brethren [a], who had become one of the reformed churches; but it was highly displeasing to those among the protestants, who had embraced the sentiments and discipline of Calvin. The dissensions, occasioned by these different schemes of ecclesiastical polity, were every way adapted to produce a violent schism in the church; so much the more, as the leaders of the contending parties pretended to derive their

company.—Dr. Mosheim seems to have been led into this mistake, by imagining that the ecclesiastical form of government established in Scotland, where indeed all church affairs are managed by consistorial, provincial, and national assemblies, or, in other words, by presbyteries, synods, and general synods, was a direct transcript of the hierarchy of Geneva. It is also probable, that he may have been deceived by reading, in Neal's History of the Puritans, that the Scotish reformers approved the discipline of the reformed churches of Geneva and Switzerland, and followed their plan of ecclesiastical government. But he ought to have observed, that this approbation and imitation related only to the democratic form of the church of Geneva, and the parity of its ministers. Be that as it may, the plan of government, which our historian here supposes to have place at Geneva, is in reality that which is observed in Scotland, and of which no more than the first and fundamental principles were taken from the discipline of Calvin. The small territory of Geneva would not admit such a form of ecclesiastical polity as Dr. Mosheim here describes.

[a] See Epist. de Ordinat. et Successione Episcopal. in Unitate Fratrum Bohem. conservatâ, in Christ. Matth. Pfaffii Institutionibus Juris Eccles. p. 410.

respective plans from the injunctions of Christ, and the practice of his disciples. And, in effect, it divided the English nation into two parties, who during a long time treated each other with great animosity and bitterness, and whose feuds, on many occasions, proved detrimental to the civil interests and prosperity of the nation. This schism, however, which did such mischief in England, was, by the prudence and piety of a few great and excellent divines, confined to that country, and prevented from either becoming universal, or interrupting the fraternal union that prevailed between the church of England and the reformed churches abroad. The worthy men, who thus set bounds to the influence of these unhappy divisions, found great opposition made, by the suggestions of bigotry, to their charitable purpose. To maintain, however, the bonds of union between the episcopal church of England and the presbyterian churches in foreign countries, they laid down the following maxim, which, though it be not universally adopted, tends nevertheless to the preservation of external concord among the reformed, viz. "That "Jesus Christ has left upon record no express injunc- "tions with respect to the external form of govern- "ment that is to be observed in his church; and, con- "sequently, that every nation hath a right to establish "such a form, as seemeth conducive to the interests, "and suitable to the peculiar state, circumstances, "and exigencies of the community, provided that "such an establishment be in no respect prejudicial "to truth, or favorable to the revival of super- "stition [b]."

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XXXIII. It was the opinion of Calvin, not only that flagitious and profligate members were to be cut off from the sacred society, and excluded from the communion of the church, but also that men of dis-

The state of church discipline.

[b] See Spanhemii Opera, tom. ii. lib. viii. ix. p. 1055. This was the general opinion of the British divines who lived in the earliest period of the Reformation, and was first abandoned by archbishop Whitgift. See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii.

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[c] See a remarkable letter of Rodolph Gualter, in Fueslin's Centuria I. Epistolarum à Reformatoribus Helveticis scriptarum, p. 478, where he expresses himself thus: "Excommunicationem neque Zuinglius . . . neque Bullingerus, unquam probârunt, et . . . obstiterunt iis qui eam aliquando voluerunt introducere . . . Basileæ quidem Œcolampadius, multum dissuadente Zuinglio, instituerat . . . sed adeo non durabilis fuit illa constitutio, ut Œcolampadius illam abrogârit," &c. See also p. 90.

[d] Of all the undertakings of Calvin, there was not one that involved him in so much trouble, or exposed him to such imminent danger, as the plan he had formed, with such resolution and fortitude, of purging the church, by the exclusion of obstinate and scandalous offenders, and inflicting severe punishments on all such as violated the laws, enacted by the church, or by the consistory, which was its representative. See the Life of Calvin, composed by Beza, and prefixed to his Letters.—Spon's Histoire de Geneve, and particularly the notes, tom. ii. p. 45, 65.

pleased with the form of church-government that had been established at Geneva, and ardently desirous of a greater degree of power to restrain the insolence of obstinate sinners, and a larger share of authority in the church, than they were intrusted with by the moderate ecclesiastical constitution of Zuingle. They devoutly wished that the discipline of Calvin might be followed in their cantons, and even made some attempts for that purpose. But their desires and their endeavours were equally vain; for the cantons of Bern, Zurich, and Basil, distinguished themselves among the others in opposing this change, and would by no means permit the bounds, that Zuingle had set to the jurisdiction of the church, to be removed, nor its power and authority to be augmented in any respect [e].

The state of learning among the reformed.

XXXIV. All the various branches of learning, whether sacred or profane, flourished among the reformed during this century, as appears evidently by the great number of excellent productions which have been transmitted to our times. Zuingle, indeed, seemed disposed to exclude philosophy from the pale of the church [f]; but in this inconsiderate purpose he had few followers, and the succeeding doctors of the Helvetic church were soon persuaded of the necessity

—Calvin's Letters, and more especially those addressed to Jaques de Bourgogne. The party at Geneva, which Calvin called the sect of Libertines (because they defended the licentious customs of ancient times, the erection of stews, and other vicious practices, not only by their discourse and their actions, but even by force of arms), was both numerous and powerful. But the courage and resolution of this great reformer gained the ascendency, and triumphed over the opposition of his enemies.

[e] See the account of the tumults and commotions of Lausanne, in the Museum Helveticum, tom. ii.—The disputes that were carried on upon this occasion, in the Palatinate, which adopted the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, are recorded by Altingius, in his Hist. Eccles. Palat. and by Struvius, in his Hist. Eccles. Palat. German.

[f] Zuingle, in the dedication of his book, *de Verâ et Falsâ Religione*, to Francis I. king of France, expresses himself in the following terms; "Philosophiæ interdictum est a Christi scholis: at isti (Sorbonistæ) fecerunt eam cœlestis verbi magistram."

CENT. XVI. of philosophical knowledge, more especially in controversies, and researches of a theological kind. Hence it was, that, in 1588, an academical body was founded at Geneva by Calvin, whose first care was to place in this new seminary a professor of philosophy for the instruction of youth in the principles of reasoning. It is true, indeed, that this professor had a very limited province assigned to him, being obliged to confine his instructions to a mere interpretation of the precepts of Aristotle, who at this time was the oracle of all the public schools [g], and whose philosophical principles and method were exclusively adopted by all the other reformed colleges; though it is certain, that the philosophy of Ramus was, for some time, preferred, by many of the doctors of Basil, to that of the Stagirite [h].

The interpreters and commentators of Scripture.

XXXV. The reformed church, from its very infancy, produced a great number of expositors of Scripture, whose learned and excellent commentaries deserve a memorable place [i] in the history of theological science. The exposition that Zuingle has given of the greatest part of the books of the New Testament, is far from being destitute of merit [k]. He was succeeded by Bullinger, Œcolampadius, and Musculus,

[g] Beza, in his Epist. Theol. (ep. xxxvi. p. 156), speaks thus: "Certum nobis ac constitutum est, et in ipsis tradendis logicis et in ceteris explicandis disciplinis ab Aristotelis sententiâ ne tantillum quidem deflectere."

[h] See Casp. Brandtii Vita Jacobi Arminii, p. 12, 22.

☞ [i] Dr. Mosheim pays a tribute to these great men of the reformed church, that seems to be extorted by justice, with a kind of effort, from the spirit of party. He says, that Zuingle's labors are not contemptible; that Calvin attempted an illustration of the sacred writings; that the New Testament of Beza has not, even at this day, entirely lost the reputation it formerly enjoyed. This is faint praise; and therefore the translator has, without departing from the tenor of the author's phraseology, animated a little the coldness of his panegyric.

☞ [k] It was not only on the books of the New Testament that Zuingle employed his very learned and excellent labors. He expounded the book of Genesis, together with the twenty-four first chapters of Exodus, and gave new versions of the Psalms, of the Prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

and also by others, who, though inferior to those great men in erudition and genius, deserve a certain degree of approbation and esteem. But the two divines who shone with a superior and unrivaled lustre in this learned list of sacred expositors, were John Calvin and Theodore Beza. The former composed an excellent commentary on almost all the books of Holy Writ; and the latter published a Latin version of the New Testament, enriched with theological and critical observations, which has passed through many editions, and enjoys, at this day, a considerable part of the reputation and applause with which it was crowned at its first appearance. It must be acknowleged, to the honor of the greatest part of these commentators, that, wisely neglecting those allegorical significations and mystical meanings which the irregular fancies of former expositors had attributed to the terms of Scripture, they employed their whole diligence and industry in investigating the literal sense and the full energy of the words, in order to find out the true intention of the sacred writer. It must, however, be observed, on the other hand, that some of these interpreters, and more especially Calvin, have been sharply censured for applying, to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews, several prophecies that point to the Messiah and to the Christian dispensation in the most evident and palpable manner, and thus removing some of the most striking arguments in favor of the divinity of the Gospel[1].

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XXXVI. The state of theology, and the revolutions it underwent among the Helvetic and the other reformed churches, were nearly the same as among the Lutherans. Zuingle was one of the first reformed doctors who reduced that sacred science into a certain sort of order, in his book concerning true and false Religion, which contained a brief exposition of the

The theological doctrine of the reformed church.

[1] See Ægidii Hunnii Calvinus Judaizans, published in 1595, which was refuted by David Pareus, in a book published the same year, under the title of Calvinus Orthodoxus.

CENT. XVI. principal doctrines of Christianity. This production was followed by one much more comprehensive in its contents, and perfect in its kind, composed by Calvin, and entitled Institutes of the Christian Religion, which held in the reformed churches the same rank, authority, and credit, that the Loci Communes of Melanchthon obtained among us [m]. The example of Calvin animated the doctors of his communion, and produced a great number of writers of Common-Place Divinity, some more, others less voluminous, among whom Musculus, Peter Martyr, and Piscator, particularly excelled. The most ancient of these writers are, generally speaking, the best, on account of their simplicity and clearness, being untainted with that affectation of subtilty, and that scholastic spirit, which have eclipsed the merit of many a good genius. Calvin was a model in this respect, more especially in his Institutes; a work remarkable for the finest elegance of style, and the greatest ease and perspicuity of expression, together with the most perfect simplicity of method, and clearness of argument. But this simplicity was soon effaced by the intricate science of the schools. The philosophy of Aristotle, which was taught in almost all the seminaries of learning, and suffered much from falling into bad hands, insinuated itself into the regions of theology, and rendered them barren, thorny, intricate, and gloomy, by the enormous multitude of barbarous terms, captious questions, minute distinctions, and useless subtilties, that followed in its train [n].

☞ [m] The reader must not forget that the learned author of this History was a Lutheran.

[n] It must however be acknowleged, that the scholastic method of teaching theology seems to have first infected our (the Lutheran) church, though the contagion spread itself, soon after, among the reformed doctors. It was certainly very recent in Holland at the time of the famous synod of Dordrecht. In this assembly Maccovius, professor at Franeker, a man deeply versed in all the mysteries of the scholastic philosophy, was accused of heresy by his colleague Sibrand Lubbert. When the matter was examined, the synod declared that Maccovius was unjustly accused of heresy; but that, in his divinity lectures,

XXXVII. The reformed doctors of this century generally concluded their treatises of didactic theology with a delineation of the moral duties that are incumbent upon Christians, and the rules of practice that

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The state of practical divinity or morality.

he had not followed that simplicity of method, and clearness of expression, which are commendable in a public teacher of Christianity; and that he rather followed the subtile manner of the scholastic doctors, than the plain and unaffected phraseology of the inspired writers. The decision of the synod is expressed by Walter Balcanqual (in the acts of that ecclesiastical assembly, subjoined to his letters to Sir Dudley Carleton) in the following words: "Maccovium ... nullius hæreseos reum teneri ... peccâsse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis et obscuris scholasticis phrasibus usus sit; quod scholasticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis academiis introducere ... Monendum esse eum, ut cum spiritu sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio *". These admonitions produced little effect on Maccovius, as appears by his theological writings, which are richly seasoned with scholastic wit and intricate speculations. He therefore appears to have been the first who introduced the subtilties of philosophy into the theological system of the reformed churches in Holland. He was not, however, alone in this attempt, but was seconded by the acute Dr. William Ames, minister of the English church at the Hague, and several others of the same scholastic turn. This method of teaching theology must have been in use among almost all the reformed doctors before the synod of Dordrecht, if we give credit to Episcopius, who, in the last discourse which he addressed to his disciples at Leyden, tells them that he had carefully avoided this scholastic divinity; and that this was the principal cause that had drawn on him the vehement hatred and opposition of all the other professors and teachers of theology. His words are as follow: "Videbam veritatem multarum et maximarum rerum in ipsâ scripturâ sacrâ, elaboratis humanâ industriâ phrasibus, ingeniosis vocularum fictionibus, locorum communium artificiosis texturis, exquisitis terminorum ac formularum inventionibus, adeo involutam, perplexam et intricatam redditam esse, ut Œdipo sæpe opus esset ad Sphingem illam theologicam enodandam. Ita est, et hinc primæ lacrymæ—Reducendam itaque terminorum apostolicorum et cuivis obviorum simplicitatem semper sequendam putavi, et sequestrandas, quas academiæ et scholæ tanquam proprias sibi vendicant, logicas philosophicasque speculationes et dictiones." See Philippi Limborchii Vita Episcopii, p. 123.

* See the Acta Synodi Dord. in Hale's Golden Remains, p. 161,—and Philippi Limborchii Epistolar. Ecclesiasticar. Collect. p. 574.

CENT. XVI. are prescribed in the Gospel. This method was observed by Calvin, and was followed, out of respect for his example, by almost all the divines of his communion, who looked upon him as their model and their guide. This eminent man, toward the conclusion of his Institutes, speaks of the power of the magistrate, and the ends of civil government; and, in the last chapter, gives the portraiture of the life and manners of a true Christian, but in a much more concise manner than the copiousness, dignity, and importance of the subject seemed to require. The progress of morality among the reformed, was obstructed by the very same means that retarded its improvement among the Lutherans. It was neglected amidst the tumult of controversy; and, while every pen was drawn to maintain certain systems of doctrine, few were employed in cultivating or promoting that noblest of all sciences, which has virtue, life, and manners, for its objects.

This master-science, which Calvin and his associates had left in a rude and imperfect state, was first reduced into some kind of form, and explained with a certain degree of accuracy and precision, by William Perkins [o], an English divine, as the reformed doctors universally allow. He was seconded in this laudable undertaking by Telingius, a native of Holland; and it was by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, excited by the example of these two doctors, that

☞ [o] Mr. William Perkins was born at Marston in Warwickshire, in the first year of queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he became fellow. He was one of the most famous practical writers and preachers of his age. His puritanical and non-conforming principles exposed him to the cognisance of the High-Commission Court; but his peaceable behaviour, and eminent reputation in the learned world, procured him an exemption from the persecutions that fell upon his brethren. His works, which were printed in three volumes folio, afford abundant proofs of his piety and industry, especially when it is considered that he died in the 44th year of his age.

William Ames, a native of Scotland, and professor of divinity at Franeker [p], was engaged to compose a complete body of Christian morality [q]. These writers were succeeded by others, who threw farther light on this important science. CENT. XVI.

XXXVIII. The reformed church was less disturbed, during this century, by sects, divisions, and theological disputes, than the Lutheran, which was often a prey to the most unhappy dissensions. This circumstance is looked upon by the former as a matter of triumph, though it may be very easily accounted for by all such as are acquainted with the history of that church [r]. We have however, in the writings of The contests of Calvin with the Spiritual Libertines,

☞ [p] Dr. William Ames, educated at Cambridge under Mr. Perkins, fled from the persecution of archbishop Bancroft, and was invited by the states of Friseland to the divinity chair in the university of Franeker, which he filled with great reputation for twelve years. He then removed to Rotterdam, at the invitation of an English church there, and became their pastor. He was at the synod of Dordrecht, and informed the ambassador of king James at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that assembly. Besides his controversial writings against the Arminians, he published the following; Medulla Theologiæ (the work here referred to by Dr. Mosheim):—Manuductio Logica;—Cases of Conscience;—Analysis of the Book of Psalms;—Notes on the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter, &c. These productions are not void of merit, considering the times in which they were written.

☞ [q] In the preface to his famous book de Conscientiâ et ejus Jure, Dr. Ames observes, that an excessive zeal for doctrine had produced an unhappy neglect of morality: "Quod hæc pars prophetiæ (i. e. morality) hactenus minus fuerit exculta, hoc inde fuit, quod primipilares nostri perpetuo in acie adversus hostes pugnare, fidem propugnare, et aream ecclesiæ purgare, necessitate quadam cogebantur, ita ut agros et vineas plantare et rigare non potuerint ex voto, sicut bello fervente usu venire solet." The address to the students of Franeker, which is subjoined to this book, under the title of Parænesis ad Studiosos, &c. deserves to be perused, as it tends to confirm what has been already observed with respect to the neglect of the science of morality. "Theologi (says he) præclare se instructos putant ad omnes officii sui partes, si dogmata tantum intelligant. Neque tamen omnia dogmata scrutantur, sed illa sola, quæ præcipue solent agitari et in controversiam vocari."

☞ [r] Dr. Mosheim ought to have given us a hint of his manner of accounting for this, to avoid the suspicion of having been somewhat at a loss for a favorable solution.

CENT. XVI. Calvin, an account, and also a refutation, of a most pernicious sect that sprang up in that establishment, and produced troubles of a more deplorable kind than any that happened in our community [s]. This odious sect, which assumed the denominations of *Libertines* and *Spiritual Brethren and Sisters*, arose in Flanders, under the auspices of Pockesius, Ruffus, and Quintin; gained a certain footing in France through the favor and protection of Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I.; and found patrons in several of the reformed churches [t]. Their doctrine, as far as it can be known by the writings of Calvin and its other antagonists (for I do not find that these fanatics published any account of their tenets), amounted to the following propositions: "That the "Deity was the sole operating cause in the mind of "man, and the immediate author of all human "actions; that, consequently, the distinctions of good "and evil, which had been established with respect "to these actions, were false and groundless, and "that men could not, properly speaking, commit "sin; that religion consisted in the union of the "spirit, or rational soul, with the Supreme Being; "that all those who had attained this happy union, "by sublime contemplation and elevation of mind, "were allowed to indulge, without exception or "restraint, their appetites and passions; that all "their actions and pursuits were then perfectly inno-"cent; and that, after the death of the body, they "were to be united to the Deity." These extravagant tenets resemble, in such a striking manner, the opinions of the Beghards, or Brethren of the Free Spirit, that it appears to me, beyond all doubt, that the Libertines, or Spirituals, now under considera-

[s] Why all these comparisons? Our author seems, on some occasions, to tinge his historical relation with the spirit of party.

[t] See "Calvini Instructio adversus fanaticam et furiosam Sectam Libertinorum, qui se Spirituales vocant," among his theological tracts.

tion, were no more than a remnant of that ancient sect. The place of their origin tends to confirm this hypothesis, since it is well known, that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Flanders swarmed with licentious fanatics of this kind. CENT. XVI.

and with the Libertines of Geneva.

XXXIX. We must not confound (as is frequently done) with these fanatics, another kind of Libertines, whom Calvin had to combat, and who gave him much trouble and perplexity during the whole course of his life and ministry; I mean the Libertines of Geneva. These were rather a cabal of rakes than a sect of fanatics; for they made no pretences to any religious system, but pleaded only for the liberty of leading voluptuous and immoral lives. This cabal was composed of such licentious citizens as could not bear the severe discipline of Calvin, who punished with rigor, not only dissolute manners, but also whatever carried the aspect of irreligion and impiety. This irregular troop stood forth in defence of the licentiousness and dissipation that had reigned in their city before the Reformation, pleaded for the continuance of those brothels, banquetings, and other entertainments of a sensual kind, which the regulations of Calvin were designed to abolish, and employed all the bitterness of reproach and invective, all the resources of fraud and violence, all the powers of faction, to accomplish their purpose[u]. In this turbulent cabal there were several persons, who were not only notorious for their dissolute and scandalous manner of living, but also for their contempt of all religion. Of this odious class was Gruet, who attacked Calvin with the utmost animosity and fury, calling him bishop of Asculum, the new pope, and branding him with other contumelious denominations. This Gruet denied the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the difference

[u] Spon's Histoire de Geneve, tom. ii. p. 44, in the edition of 1730.

CENT. XVI. between moral good and evil, and rejected, with disdain, the doctrines that are deemed most sacred among Christians; for which impieties he was at last brought before the civil tribunals, in 1550, and was punished with death [w].

Calvin's disputes with Castalio.

XL. The opposition that was made to Calvin did not end here. He had contests of another kind to sustain against those who disapproved his theological system, and, more especially, his melancholy and discouraging doctrine in relation to eternal and absolute decrees. These adversaries felt, by a disagreeable experience, the warmth and violence of his haughty temper, and that impatience of contradiction which arose from an over-jealous concern for his honor, or rather for his unrivaled supremacy. He would not suffer them to remain at Geneva; and, in the heat of controversy, being carried away by the impetuosity of his passions, he accused them of crimes from which they have been fully absolved by the impartial judgement of unprejudiced posterity [x]. Among these victims of Calvin's unlimited power and excessive zeal, we may reckon Sebastian Castalio, master of the public school at Geneva, who, though not exempt from failings [y], was nevertheless a man of probity, and was also remarkable for the extent of his learning and the elegance of his taste. As this learned man could neither approve all the measures that were followed, nor all the opinions that were

[w] Spon's Hist. tom. ii.

[x] At this day we may venture to speak thus freely of the rash decisions of Calvin, since even the doctors of Geneva, as well as those of the other reformed churches, ingenuously acknowlege that his eminent talents and excellent qualities were accompanied with great defects, for which, however, they plead indulgence, in consideration of his services and virtues. See the notes to Spon's Histoire de Geneve, tom. ii. p. 110, as also the preface to Calvin's Letters to Jaques de Bourgogne.

☞ [y] See Bayle's Dictionary at the article Castalio, in which the merit and demerit of that learned man seem to be impartially and accurately examined.

entertained by Calvin and his colleagues, and particularly that of absolute and unconditional predestination, he was deposed from his office in 1544, and banished from the city. The magistrates of Basil, however, received this ingenious exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university [z]. CENT. XVI.

XLI. A like fate happened to Jerome Bolsec, a French monk of the Carmelite order, who, though much inferior to Castalio in genius and learning, was judged worthy of esteem, on account of the motive that brought him to Geneva; for it was a conviction of the excellence of the protestant religion that engaged him to abandon the monastic retreats of superstition, and to repair to this city, where he followed the profession of physic. His imprudence, however, was great, and was the principal cause of the misfortunes that befell him. It led him, in 1551, to lift up his voice in the full congregation, after the conclusion of divine worship, and to declaim, in the most indecorous manner, against the doctrine of absolute decrees; for which offence he was thrown into prison, and soon after, sent into banishment. He then returned to the place of his nativity, and to the communion of Rome, and published the most bitter and slanderous libels, in which the reputation, conduct and morals of Calvin and Beza, were cruelly attacked [a]. From this treatment of Bolsec arose the misunderstanding between Calvin and his intimate friend and patron Jaques de Bourgogne, a man illustrious by his descent from the dukes of Burgundy, who had settled at Geneva with no other view than to enjoy the pleasure of conversing with him. Jaques de Bourgogne had employed Bolsec as his physician, with Bolsec,

[z] See Uytenbogard's Ecclesiastical History, part ii. where that author endeavours to defend the innocence of Castalio.—See also Colomesii Italia Orientalis, p. 99.—Bayle's Dict. tom. i.

[a] See Bayle's Dict. at the article Bolsec.—Spon's Hist. de Geneve, tom. ii. p. 55, in the Notes.—Biblioth. Raisonnée, tom. xxxii. p. 446, tom. xxxiv. p. 409.

CENT. XVI. and was so well satisfied with his services, that he endeavoured to support him, and to prevent his being ruined by the enmity and authority of Calvin. This incensed the latter to such a degree, that he turned the force of his resentment against this illustrious nobleman, who, to avoid his vengeance, removed from Geneva, and passed the remainder of his days in a rural retreat [b].

and with Ochino.

XLII. Bernardino Ochino, a native of Sienna (and, before his conversion, general of the Capuchin order), was, in 1543, banished from Switzerland, in consequence of a sentence passed upon him by the Helvetic church. This proselyte, who was a man of a fertile imagination, and a lively and subtile turn of mind, had been invited to Zurich as pastor of the Italian church established in that city. But the freedom, or rather the licentiousness of his sentiments, justly exposed him to the displeasure of those who had been his patrons and protectors; for, among many other opinions very different from such as were commonly received, he maintained that the law, which confined a husband to one wife, was susceptible of exceptions in certain cases. In his writings also he propagated several notions which were repugnant to the theological system of the Helvetic doctors, and pushed his inquiries into many subjects of importance, with a boldness and freedom by no means suited to the genius and spirit of the age in which he lived. Some have, however, undertaken his defence, and have alleged in his behalf, that the errors he maintained at the time of his banishment (when, worn out with age, and oppressed with poverty, he was rather an object of compassion, than of resentment), were not of such a heinous nature as to justify so severe a punishment. However that may have been, this unfortunate exile retired into Poland, where he em-

[b] See the preface to Lettres de Calvin à Jaques de Bourgogne, and La Bibliotheque Raisonnée, tom. xxxii. xxxiv.

braced the communion of the Anti-Trinitarians and Anabaptists [c], and ended his days in 1564 [d]. CENT. XVI.

XLIII. It is remarkable that those very doctors, who animadverted with such severity upon all that dared to dissent from any part of their theological system, thought proper, nevertheless, to behave with the greatest circumspection, and the most pacific spirit of mildness, in the long controversy which was carried on with such animosity between the Puritans, and the advocates of episcopacy, in England; for if, on the one hand, they could not but stand well affected to the Puritans, who were steadfast defenders of the discipline and sentiments of the Helvetic church; so, on the other, they were connected with their episcopal doctors by the bonds of Christian communion and fraternal love. In this critical situation, their whole thoughts were turned to reconciliation and peace; and they exhorted their brethren, the Puritans, to put on a spirit of meekness and forbearance toward the episcopal church, and not to break the bonds of charity and communion with its rulers or its members. Such was the gentle spirit of the The controversy between the church of England and the Puritans.

[c] See Boverii Annales Capucinorum; and a book entitled, La Guerre Seraphique, ou Histoire des Perils qu'a couru la Barbe des Capucins, livr. ii. p. 147. livr. iii. p. 190, 230.—Observationes Halenses Latinæ, tom. iv. Observ. xx. p. 406. tom. v. Observ. i. p. 3.—Bayle's Diction. at the article Ochin.—Christ. Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar. p. 4. Niceron's Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes illustres, tom. xix. p. 166.

☞ [d] Ochino did not leave the accusations of his adversaries without a reply; he published, in Italian, an Apology for his character and conduct, printed, with a Latin translation by Seb. Castalio, without the date of the year. The Geneva edition of this apology bears the date of 1554, and a German edition appeared in 1556. Beza, in his letter to Dudithius, insults the memory of Ochino, and pretends to justify the severity with which he was treated, in such a taunting and uncharitable manner as does him little credit. See his Epist. Theolog. Genevæ, 1575. What the writers of the Romish church have laid to the charge of Ochino, may be seen in the life of cardinal Commendoni, written by Gratiani, bishop of Amelia, (and published in a French translation by the eloquent Flechier, bishop of Nismes,) B. 2. C. 9. p. 138—149. N.

CENT. XVI. doctors in Switzerland toward the church of England, notwithstanding the severe treatment the greatest part of the reformed had received from that church, which constantly insisted on the divine origin of its government and discipline, and scarcely allowed, to the other reformed communities, the privileges, or even the denomination of a true church. This moderation of the Helvetic doctors was the dictate of prudence. They did not think it expedient to contend with a generous and flourishing people, or to incur the displeasure of a mighty queen, whose authority seemed to extend not only over her own dominions, but even to the United Provinces, which were placed in her neighbourhood, and, in some measure, under her protection. Nor did the apprehensions of a general schism in the reformed church contribute a little to render them meek, moderate, and pacific. It is one thing to punish and excommunicate a handful of weak and unsupported individuals, who attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the state by the introduction of opinions, which, though neither highly absurd, nor of dangerous consequence, have yet the demerit of novelty; and another to irritate, or promote divisions in a flourishing church, which, though weakened by intestine feuds, is yet both powerful and respectable in a high degree. Besides, the dispute between the church of England and the other reformed churches, did not, as yet, turn upon points of doctrine, but only on the rites of external worship and the form of ecclesiastical government. It is, however, to be observed, that, soon after the period now under consideration, certain religious doctrines were introduced into the debate between the churches, that contributed much to widen the breach, and to obscure the prospect of reconciliation [d].

[d] All the protestant divines of the reformed church, whether Puritans or others, seemed, indeed, hitherto of one mind about the doctrines of faith. But, toward the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, there arose a party, that first wished

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XLIV. That the reformed church abounded, during this century, with great and eminent men, justly celebrated for their talents and learning, is too well known to require proof. Beside Calvin, Zuingle, and Beza, who exhibited to the republic of letters very striking instances of genius and erudition, we may place, in the list of those who have gained an immortal name by their writings, Œcolampadius, Bullinger, Farel, Viret, Martyr, Bibliander, Musculus, Pelican, Lavater, Hospinian, Ursinus, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Szegedinus, and many others, whose names and merits are recorded by the writers of literary history, particularly by Melchior Adam, Antony Wood, Gerard Brandt, and Daniel Neal, the learned and industrious author of the History of the Puritans.

Many persons of eminent genius and learning among the reformed.

CHAPTER III.

The History of the Anabaptists or Mennonites.

I. THE true origin of that sect which acquired the denomination of Anabaptists[e] by their administering

The origin of the Anabaptists obscure.

to soften, and then to overthrow, the received opinions concerning predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption. These are the doctrines to which Dr. Mosheim alludes in this passage. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lean toward the notions concerning these intricate points, which Arminius propagated some time after this; while, on the other hand, the Puritans adhered rigorously to the system of Calvin. Several episcopal doctors remained attached to the same system; and all these abettors of Calvinism, whether episcopal or presbyterian, were called *doctrinal Puritans*.

[e] The modern Mennonites reject the denomination of Anabaptists, and also disavow the custom of repeating the ceremony of baptism, whence this denomination is derived. They acknowlege that the ancient Anabaptists practised the repetition of baptism to those who joined them from other Christian churches; but they maintain, at the same time, that this custom is at present abolished by the far greater part of their community. See Herm. Schyn's Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior Deductio, cap. ii.

CENT. XVI. anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of *Mennonites*

But here, if I do not mistake, these good men forget that ingenuous candor and simplicity, of which, on other occasions, they make such ostentation, and have recourse to artifice, in order to disguise the true cause and origin of the denomination in question. They pretend, for instance, that the Anabaptists, their ancestors, were so called from their baptizing *a second time* all the adult persons, who left other churches to enter into their communion. But it is certain, that the denomination in question was given to them, not only on this account, but also, and indeed principally, from the following consideration; that they did not look upon those who had been baptized in a state of infancy, or at a tender age, as rendered, by the administration of this sacrament, true members of the Christian church; and therefore insisted upon their being re-baptized, in order to their being received into the communion of the Anabaptists. It is likewise certain that all the churches of that communion, however they may vary in other respects, and differ from each other in their tenets and practices, agree nevertheless in this opinion, and persevere obstinately in it. In a more especial manner are the ancient Flemish Anabaptists entitled to this denomination; for they not only re-baptized the children that had been already baptized in other churches, but even observed the same method with respect to persons who had reached the years of reason and discretion; and, what is still more remarkable, the different sects of Anabaptists deal in the same manner one with another; each sect re-baptizes the persons that enter into its communion, although they have already received that sacrament in another sect of the same denomination; and the reason of this conduct is, that each sect considers its baptism alone as pure and valid. It is indeed to be observed, that there is another class of Anabaptists, called Waterlandians, who are more moderate in their principles, and wiser in all respects than those now mentioned, and who do not pretend to re-baptize adult persons already baptized in other Christian churches, or in other sects of their own denomination. These moderate sectaries are, however, with propriety termed Anabaptists, on account of their rebaptizing such as had received the baptismal rite in a state of infancy or childhood. The patrons of this sect seem, indeed, very studious to conceal a practice which they cannot deny to take place among them; and their eagerness to conceal it, arises from a fear of reviving the hatred and severities which formerly pursued them. They are apprehensive that, by acknowleging the truth, the modern Mennonites may be considered as the descendants of those flagitious and fanatical Anabaptists of Munster, whose enormities rendered their very name odious to all true Christians. All this appears evident from the following passage in Schyn's Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior Deductio, tom. ii.

from the famous man to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hidden in the depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained [f]. This uncertainty will not appear CENT. XVI.

where that author pretends to prove that his brethren are unjustly stigmatised with the odious denomination of Anabaptists. His words are: "Anabaptismus ille plane obsolevit; et a multis retro annis neminem cujuscunque sectæ Christianæ fidei, *juxta mandatum Christi* baptizatum, dum ad nostras Ecclesias transire cupit, re-baptizaverunt." i. e. That species of Anabaptism with which we are charged, exists no longer, nor has it happened during the space of many years past, that any person professing Christianity, of whatever church or sect he may have been, and who had been previously baptized *according to the commandment of Christ*, has been re-baptized upon his entering into our communion. This passage would, at first sight, induce an inattentive reader to imagine that there is no such thing among the modern Mennonites, as the custom of re-baptizing those who enter into their community. But the words, *juxta mandatum Christi*, discover sufficiently the artifice and fraud that lie hidden in this apology; for the Anabaptists maintain that there is no *commandment of Christ* in favor of infant baptism. Moreover, we see the whole fallacy exposed, by what the author adds to the sentence already quoted: "Sed illum etiam *adultorum* baptismum ut sufficientem agnoscunt." Nevertheless, this author, as if he had perfectly proved his point, concludes, with an air of triumph, that the odious name of Anabaptists cannot be given, with any propriety, to the Mennonites at this day; "Quare (says he), verissimum est, illud odiosum nomen Anabaptistarum illis non convenire." In this, however, he is certainly in an error; and the name in question is as applicable to the modern Mennonites, as it was to the sect from which they descend, since the best and wisest of the Mennonites maintain, in conformity with the principles of the ancient Anabaptists, that the baptism of infants is destitute of validity, and consequently are very careful in re-baptizing their proselytes, notwithstanding their having been baptized in their tender years, in other Christian churches. Many circumstances persuade me that the declarations and representations of things given by the modern Mennonites, are not always worthy of credit. Unhappily instructed by the miseries and calamities in which their ancestors were involved, they are anxiously careful to conceal entirely those tenets and laws which are the distinguishing characteristics of their sect; while they embellish what they cannot totally conceal, and disguise with the greatest art such of their institutions as otherwise might appear of a pernicious tendency, and might expose them to censure.

[f] The writers for and against the Anabaptists are amply

CENT. XVI. surprising, when it is considered, that this sect started up suddenly in several countries, at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first contests of the reformers with the Roman pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned, in such a manner, as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters of indifference. The modern Mennonites not only consider themselves as the descendants of the Waldenses, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Romish church, but pretend, moreover, to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averse to all principles of rebellion, on the one hand, and all suggestions of fanaticism on the other [g]. Their adversaries, on the contrary, represent them as the decendants of those turbulent and furious Anabaptists, who, in the sixteenth century, involved Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and more especially the province of Westphalia, in such scenes of blood, perplexity, and distress; and allege, that, terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, and also influenced

enumerated by Caspar Sagittarius, in his Introductio ad Histor. Eccles. tom. i. p. 826. and by Christ. M. Pfaffius, in his Introduct. in Histor. Liter. Theologiæ, part ii. p. 349.—Add to these a modern writer and a Mennonite preacher, Herman Schyn, who published at Amsterdam, in 1723, his Historia Mennonitarum, and, in 1729, his Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennonit. These two books, though they do not deserve the title of a History of the Mennonites, are nevertheless useful, in order to come at thorough knowlege of the affairs of this sect; for this author is much more intent upon defending his brethren against the accusations and reproaches with which they have been loaded, than careful in tracing out the origin, progress, and revolutions of their sect. Indeed the Mennonites have not much reason to boast either of the extraordinary learning or dexterity of this their patron; and it is to be imagined, that they may easily find a more able defender. For an accurate account of the Mennonite historians, and their confessions of faith, see Jo. Christ. Kocheri Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ, p. 461.

[g] See Herm. Schyn's Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennon. cap. i. as also a Dutch work by Galen Abrahamzon, entitled, Verdediging der Christenen, die Doopsgesinde genand worden.

by the moderate counsels and wise injunctions of Menno, they abandoned the ferocity of their primitive enthusiasm, and were gradually brought to a better mind. After having examined these different accounts of the origin of the Anabaptists with the utmost attention and impartiality, I have found that neither of them can justly be pronounced conformable to strict truth. CENT. XVI.

The most probable account of the origin of the Anabaptists.

II. It may be observed, in the first place, that the Mennonites are not entirely in an error when they boast of their descent from the Waldenses, Petrobrusians, and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as witnesses of the truth, in the times of general darkness and superstition. Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons, who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine, which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites, had maintained, some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner; viz. "That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church which he established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions, which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors." This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the Mennonites; and it is most certain, that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved by many of those, who, before the dawn of the reformation, entertained the notion already mentioned, relating to the visible church of Christ [h]. There were, however, different

[h] See, for an account of the religious sentiments of the Waldenses, Limborch's excellent History of the Inquisition, translated into English by the learned Dr. Samuel Chandler, book i.

CENT. XVI. ways of thinking among the different members of this sect, with respect to the methods of attaining such a perfect church-establishment as they had in view. Some, who were of a fanatical complexion on the one hand, and were persuaded on the other, that such a visible church as they had modeled out in fancy, could not be realised by the power of man, entertained the pleasing hope, that God, in his own good time, would erect to himself a holy church, exempt from every degree of blemish and impurity, and would set apart, for the execution of this grand design, a certain number of chosen instruments, divinely assisted and prepared for this work, by the extraordinary succours of his Holy Spirit. Others, of a more prudent and rational turn of mind, entertained different views of this matter. They neither expected stupendous miracles, nor extraordinary revelations, since they were persuaded, that it was possible, by human wisdom, industry, and vigilance, to purify the church from the contagion of the wicked, and restore it to the simplicity of its original constitution, provided that the manners and spirit of the primitive Christians could recover their lost dignity and lustre.

III. The drooping spirits of these people, who had been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted every where with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had attempted with success the reformation of the church. Then they spoke with openness and freedom; and the enthusiasm of the fanatical, as well as the prudence of the wise, discovered themselves in their natural colors. Some of them imagined, that the

chap. viii.—It appears from undoubted testimonies, that the Wickliffites and Hussites did not greatly differ from the Waldenses, with regard to the point under consideration.

☞ See also Lydii Waldensia, and Allix's Ancient Churches of Piedmont, ch. xxii.—xxvi. p. 211—280. N.

time was now come in which God himself was to dwell with his servants in an extraordinary manner, by celestial succors, and to establish upon earth a kingdom truly spiritual and divine. Others, less sanguine and chimerical in their expectations, flattered themselves, nevertheless, with the fond hope of the approach of that happy period, in which the restoration of the church, which had been so long expected in vain, was to be accomplished, under the divine protection, by the labors and counsels of pious and eminent men. This sect was soon joined by great numbers, and (as usually happens in sudden revolutions of this nature) by many persons, whose characters and capacities were very different, though their views seemed to turn upon the same object. Their progress was rapid; for, in a very short time, their discourses, visions, and predictions, excited commotions in a great part of Europe, and drew into their communion a prodigious multitude, whose ignorance rendered them easy victims to the illusions of enthusiasm. It is, however, to be observed, that, as the leaders of this sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion, that the new kingdom of Christ, which they expected, was to be exempt from every kind of vice, and from the smallest degree of imperfection and corruption, they were not satisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by Luther. They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views, and, consequently, undertook a more perfect reformation, or, to express more properly their visionary enterprise, they proposed to found a true church, entirely spiritual, and truly divine. CENT. XVI.

IV. It is difficult to determine, with certainty, the particular spot that gave birth to that seditious and pestilential sect of Anabaptists, whose tumultuous and desperate attempts were equally pernicious to the cause of religion, and the civil interests of mankind. Whether this sect arose in Switzerland, Germany, or Holland, is still a point of debate, The first motions of the Anabaptists.

CENT. XVI. whose decision is of no great importance[i]. It is most probable, that several persons of this odious class made their appearance at the same time, in different countries; and we may fix this period soon after the dawn of the Reformation in Germany, when Luther arose to set bounds to the ambition of Rome. This appears from a variety of circumstances, and especially from this striking one, that the first Anabaptist doctors of any eminence were, almost all, heads and leaders of particular and separate sects; for it must be carefully observed, that though all these projectors of a new, unspotted, and perfect church, were comprehended under the general denomination of Anabaptists, on account of their opposing the baptism of infants, and their re-baptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of childhood in other churches, yet they were, from their very origin, subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other in points of no small moment. The most pernicious faction of all those that composed this motley multitude, was the sect which pretended that the founders of the new and perfect church, already mentioned, were under the direction of a divine impulse, and were armed against all opposition by the power of working miracles. It was this detestable faction that, in 1521, began their fanatical work, under the guidance of Munzer, Stubner, Storck, and other leaders of the same furious complexion, and excited the most unhappy tumults and commotions in Saxony and the adjacent countries. They employed at first the various arts of persuasion, in order to propagate their doctrine. They preached, exhorted, admonished, and reasoned, in a manner that seemed proper to gain the multitude, and related a great

[i] Fueslin has attempted to examine, whether the Anabaptists first arose in Germany or Switzerland, in a German work, entitled, *Beytrage zur Schweizerisch Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 190; tom. ii. p. 64, 265, 327; tom. iii. p. 323, but without success.

number of visions and revelations, with which they pretended to have been favored from above. But when they saw that these methods of making proselytes were not attended with such rapid success as they fondly expected, and that the ministry of Luther, and other eminent reformers, proved detrimental to their cause, they had recourse to more expeditious measures, and madly attempted to propagate their fanatical doctrine by force of arms. Munzer and his associates assembled, in 1525, a numerous army, chiefly composed of the peasants of Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony, and, at the head of this credulous and deluded rabble, declared war against all laws, governments, and magistrates of every kind, under the chimerical pretext, that Christ was now to take the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government into his own hands, and to rule alone over the nations. But this seditious crowd was routed and dispersed, without much difficulty, by the elector of Saxony and other princes; Munzer was ignominiously put to death, and his factious counsellors were scattered abroad in different places [k]. CENT. XVI.

V. This bloody defeat of one part of these seditious and turbulent fanatics, did not produce that effect upon the rest which might naturally have been expected; it rendered them, indeed, more timorous, but it did not open their eyes upon their delusion. It is certain, that, even after this period, numbers of them, who were infected with the same odious principles that occasioned the destruction of Munzer, wandered about in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and excited the people to rebellion by their seditious discourses. They collected congregations in several places; affected to foretell, in consequence of a divine commission, the approaching abolition of magistracy, and the downfall of civil rulers and governors; and, while they pretended to be ambassa- The progress of this sect.

[k] See Seckendorf, Histor. Lutheranismi, lib. i. p. 192, 304. lib. ii. p. 13.—Sleidan, Commentar. lib. v. p. 47.—Joach. Camerarii Vita Melanchthonis, p. 44.

CENT. XVI. dors of the Most High, insulted on many occasions the majesty of Heaven by the most flagitious crimes. Those who distinguished themselves by the enormity of their conduct in this infamous sect, were Louis Hetzer, Balthazar Hubmeyer, Felix Mentz, Conrad Grebel, Melchior Hoffman, and George Jacob, who, if their power had seconded their designs, would have involved all Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumult and bloodshed[l]. A great part of this rabble seemed really delirious; and nothing more extravagant or more incredible can be imagined than the dreams and visions that were constantly arising in their disordered brains. Such of them as had some sparks of reason left, and had reflexion enough to reduce their notions into a certain form, maintained, among others, the following points of doctrine: "That the church of Christ ought to be exempt from all sin; that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that all usury, tithes, and tribute, ought to be entirely abolished; that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil; that every Christian was invested with a power of preaching the Gospel, and, consequently, that the church stood in no need of ministers or pastors; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely useless; and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions[m].

It would betray, however, a strange ignorance, or an unjustifiable partiality, to maintain, that all those who professed this eccentric and absurd doctrine were chargeable with that furious and brutal extravagance which has been mentioned as the character of too great a part of their sect. This was by no means

[l] See Jo. Bapt. Ottii Annales Anabaptist. p. 21.—Jo. Hornbeckii Summa Controvers. lib. v. p. 332.—Anton. Matthæi Analect. veteris Ævi, tom. iv. p. 629, 677, 679.—Bernard. Raupachii Anst. Evangel. tom. ii. p. 41.—Jo. Georg. Schelhorn, Act. ad Histor. Eccles. pertin. tom. i. p. 100.—See also Arnold's Kirchen Hist. lib. xvi. cap. xxi. and Fueslin's Beytrage.

[m] This account of the doctrine of the Anabaptists is principally taken from the learned Fueslin already quoted.

the case; several of these enthusiasts discovered a milder and more pacific spirit, and were free from any other reproach, than that which resulted from the errors they maintained, and their too ardent desire of spreading them among the multitude. It may still farther be affirmed with truth, that many of those who followed the wiser class of Anabaptists, and even some who adhered to the most extravagant factions of that sect, were men of upright intentions and sincere piety, who were seduced into this mystery of fanaticism and iniquity, on the one hand, by their ignorance and simplicity, and, on the other, by a laudable desire of reforming the corrupt state of religion.

Severe punishments inflicted on the Anabaptists.

VI. The progress of this turbulent sect, in almost all the countries of Europe, alarmed all who had any concern for the public good. Princes, and sovereign states, exerted themselves to check these rebellious enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out, first, severe edicts to restrain their violence, and employing, at length, capital punishments to conquer their obstinacy[n]. But here a maxim, already verified by repeated experience, received a new degree of confirmation; for the conduct of the Anabaptists, under the pressure of persecution, plainly shewed the extreme difficulty of correcting or influencing, by the prospect of suffering, or even by the terrors of death, minds that are either deeply tainted with the poison

[n] It was in Saxony, if I mistake not, and also in the year 1525, that penal laws were first enacted against this fanatical tribe. These laws were renewed in 1527, 1528, 1534. See a German work of the learned Kappius, entitled, Nachlese von Reformations Urkunden, part i. p. 176.—Charles V. incensed at the increasing impudence and iniquity of these enthusiasts, issued out against them severe edicts, in the years 1527 and 1529. (See Ottii Annales Anabapt. p. 45.) The magistrates of Switzerland treated, at first, with remarkable lenity and indulgence, the Anabaptists who lived under their government; but when it was found that this lenity rendered them still more enterprising and insolent, it was judged proper to have recourse to a different manner of proceeding. Accordingly the magistrates of Zurich, in 1525, denounced capital punishment against this riotous sect.

CENT. XVI. of fanaticism, or firmly bound by the ties of religion. In almost all the countries of Europe, an unspeakable number of these unhappy wretches preferred death, in its worst forms, to a retraction of their errors. Neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominy of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible, but ill-placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets, that appeared dearer to them than life and all its enjoyments. The Mennonites have preserved voluminous records of the lives, actions, and unhappy fate of those of their sect, who suffered death for the crimes of rebellion or heresy, which were imputed to them [o]. Certain it is, that they were treated with severity; and it is much to be lamented that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect, when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Why were the innocent and the guilty involved in the same fate? Why were doctrines purely theological, or, at worst, fanatical, punished with the same rigor that was shewn to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society? Those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and their excluding the unrighteous from the external communion of the church, ought undoubtedly to have met with milder treatment than that which was given to those seditious incendiaries, who were for unhinging all government and destroying all civil authority. Many suffered for errors which they had embraced with the most upright intentions, seduced by the eloquence and fervor of their doctors, and persuading themselves that they were contributing to the advancement of true religion. But, as the greatest part of these enthusiasts had communicated to the multitude their visionary notions, concerning the new spiritual kingdom that was soon to be erected, and the abolition of magistracy and civil govern-

[o] See Joach. Christ. Jehring, Præfat. ad Historiam Mennonitarum.

ment that was to be the immediate effect of this great revolution, this rendered the very name of an Anabaptist unspeakably odious, and made it always excite the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. It is true, that many Anabaptists suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged to be incorrigible heretics; for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of re-baptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies. It is, nevertheless, certain, that the greatest part of these wretched sufferers owed their unhappy fate to their rebellious principles and tumultuous proceedings, and that many also were punished for their temerity and imprudence, which had led them to the commission of various crimes. CENT. XVI.

VII. There stands upon record a most shocking instance of this, in the dreadful commotions that were excited at Munster, in 1533, by some Dutch Anabaptists, who chose that city as the scene of their horrid operations, and committed in it such deeds as would surpass all credibility, were they not attested in a manner that excludes every degree of doubt and uncertainty. A handful of madmen, who had gotten into their heads the visionary notion of a new and spiritual kingdom, soon to be established in an extraordinary manner, formed themselves into a society, under the guidance of a few illiterate leaders chosen out of the populace; and they persuaded, not only the ignorant multitude, but even several among the learned, that Munster was to be the seat of this new and heavenly Jerusalem, whose spiritual dominion was thence to be propagated to all parts of the earth. The bold ringleaders of this furious tribe were John Matthison, John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, one Gerard, with some others, whom the blind rage of enthusiasm, or the still more culpable principles of sedition, had embarked in this extravagant and The Anabaptists of Munster.

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desperate cause. They made themselves masters of the city of Munster, deposed the magistrates, and committed all the enormous crimes, and ridiculous follies, which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest [p]. John Bockhold was proclaimed king and legislator of this new hierarchy; but his reign was transitory, and his end deplorable; for Munster was, in 1536, retaken after a long siege by its bishop and sovereign, count Waldeck, the New Jerusalem of the Anabaptists destroyed, and its mock monarch punished with a most painful and ignominious death [q]. The disorders occasioned by the Anabaptists at this period, not only in Westphalia, but also in other parts of Germany [r], shewed too

[p] Bockhold, or Bockelson, alias John of Leyden, who headed them at Munster, ran naked in the streets, married eleven wives, at the same time, to shew his approbation of polygamy; and entitled himself king of Sion; all which formed but a very small part of the pernicious follies of this mock monarch.

[q] See Anton. Corvini Narratio de miserabili Monaster. Anabapt. Excidio.—Casp. Sagittar. Introduct. in Histor. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 537 and 835.—Herm. Hamelmann, Historia Renati Evangelii in urbe Monaster. in Operib. Genealogico-Historicis, p. 1203.—The elegant Latin poem of Bolandus in elegiac verse, entitled, J. Fabricii Bolandi Motus Monasteriens. Libri decem,—Herm. Kerssenbrock, Histor. Belli Monaster. edited by Dan. Gerdes in Miscellan. Groningens. Nov. tom. ii. The last-mentioned author speaks also of Bernard Rothman, an ecclesiastic of Munster, who had introduced the reformation into that city, but afterwards was infected with the enthusiasm of the Anabaptists; and who, though, in other respects, he had shewn himself to be neither destitute of learning nor of virtue, yet enlisted himself in this fanatical tribe, and had a share in their most turbulent and furious proceedings.

[r] The scenes of violence, tumult, and sedition, that were exhibited in Holland by this odious tribe, were likewise terrible. They formed the design of reducing the city of Leyden to ashes, but were happily prevented, and severely punished. John of Leyden, the Anabaptist king of Munster, had taken it into his head that God had made him a present of the cities of Amsterdam, Deventer, and Wesel; in consequence of which, he sent bishops to these three places, to preach *his* gospel of sedition and carnage. About the beginning of the year 1535, twelve Anabaptists, of whom five were women, assembled at midnight in a private house at Amsterdam. One of them, who was a tailor by profession, fell into a trance, and, after having preached and

plainly to what horrid extremities the pernicious doctrines of this wrong-headed sect were calculated to lead the inconsiderate and unwary; and therefore it is not at all to be wondered, that the secular arm employed rigorous measures to extirpate a faction, which was the occasion, and the source, of unspeakable calamities in so many countries[s]. CENT. XVI.

VIII. While the terrors of death, in the most dreadful forms, were presented to the view of this miserable sect, and numbers of them were executed every day, without a proper distinction being made between the innocent and the guilty, those who escaped the severity of justice were in the most discouraging situation that can well be imagined. On the one hand, they beheld, with sorrow, all their hopes blasted by the total defeat of their brethren at Munster; and, on the other, they were filled with the most anxious apprehensions of the perils that Menno Simonis.

prayed during the space of four hours, stripped himself naked, threw his clothes into the fire, and commanded all the assembly to do the same, in which he was obeyed without the least reluctance. He then ordered them to follow him through the streets in this state of nature, which they accordingly did, howling and bawling out, 'Woe! woe! the wrath of God! the wrath of God! woe to Babylon!' When, after being seised and brought before the magistrates, clothes were offered them to cover their indecency, they refused them obstinately, and cried aloud, "We are the naked truth." When they were brought to the scaffold, they sang, danced, and discovered all the marks of enthusiastic phrensy.—These tumults were followed by a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, formed by Van Geelen (an envoy of the mock king of Munster, who had made a very considerable number of proselytes) against the magistrates of Amsterdam, with a design to wrest the government of that city out of their hands. This incendiary marched with his fanatical troops to the town-house on the day appointed, drums beating, and colors flying, and fixed there his head-quarters. He was attacked by the burghers, who were assisted by some regular troops, and headed by several of the burgomasters of the city. After an obstinate resistance, he was surrounded with his whole troop, who were put to death in the severest and most dreadful manner, to serve as examples to the other branches of the sect, who were exciting commotions of a like nature in Friseland, Groningen, and other provinces and cities in the Netherlands.

[s] Ger. Brandt. Histor. Reform. Belgicæ, tom. i. lib. ii.

CENT. XVI. threatened them on all sides. In this critical situation they derived much comfort and assistance from the counsels and zeal of Menno Simonis, a native of Friseland, who had formerly been a popish priest, and, as he himself confesses, a notorious profligate. This man went over to the Anabaptists, at first, in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secrecy; but, in 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank and office in the Romish church, and publicly embraced their communion. About a year after this, he was earnestly solicited by many of the sect to assume, among them, the rank and functions of a public teacher; and as he looked upon the persons, from whom this proposal came, to be exempt from the fanatical phrensy of their brethren at Munster (though, according to other accounts, they were originally of the same stamp, only rendered somewhat wiser by their sufferings), he yielded to their entreaties. From this period to the end of his days, that is, during the space of twenty-five years, he traveled from one country to another with his wife and children, exercising his ministry under a series of pressures and calamities of various kinds, and constantly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. East and West Friseland, together with the province of Groningen, were first visited by the zealous apostle of the Anabaptists: thence he directed his course into Holland, Guelderland, Brabant, and Westphalia, continued it through the German provinces on the coast of the Baltic sea, and penetrated as far as Livonia. In all these places his ministerial labors were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the Anabaptists, and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination. The success of this missionary will not appear very surprising to those who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state

of the Anabaptists at the period now under consideration. Menno was a man of genius; though, as his writings shew, his genius was not under the direction of a very sound judgement. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliant and obsequious in his commerce with persons of all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example, as well as by his precepts. A man of such talents and dispositions could not fail to attract the admiration of the people, and to gain a great number of adherents wherever he exercised his ministry. But no where could he expect a more plentiful harvest than among the Anabaptists, whose ignorance and simplicity rendered them peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, and who, having been long accustomed to leaders that resembled phrenetic Bacchanals more than Christian ministers, and often deluded by odious impostors, who involved them in endless perils and calamities, were rejoiced to find at length a teacher, whose doctrine and manners flattered them with the hopes of more prosperous days [t].

[t] Menno was born in the neighbourhood of Bolswert in Friseland, in 1505, and not in 1496, as most writers affirm. After a life of toil, peril, and agitation, he died in peace in 1561, at the country seat of a certain nobleman (not far from the city of Oldesloe in Holstein), who, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which Menno was exposed, and the snares that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, with some of his associates, into his protection, and gave him an asylum. We have a particular account of this famous Anabaptist in the Cimbria Literata of Mollerus, tom. ii. p. 835. See also Schyn's Plenior Deduct. Histor. Mennon. cap. vi. p. 116.—The writings of Menno, which are almost all composed in the Dutch language, were published at Amsterdam in 1651. An excessively diffuse and rambling style, frequent and unnecessary repetitions, an irregular and confused method, with other defects of equal moment, render the perusal of these productions highly disagreeable.

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His doctrine.

IX. Menno drew up a plan of doctrine and discipline of a much more mild and moderate nature than that of the furious and fanatical Anabaptists already mentioned, but somewhat more severe, though more clear and consistent, than the doctrine of some of the wiser branches of that sect, who aimed at nothing more than the restoration of the Christian church to its primitive purity. Accordingly he condemned the plan of ecclesiastical discipline, that was founded on the prospect of a new kingdom, to be miraculously established by Jesus Christ on the ruins of civil government, and the destruction of human rulers, and which had been the pestilential source of such dreadful commotions, such execrable rebellions, and such enormous crimes. He declared, publicly, his dislike to that doctrine which pointed out the approach of a marvellous reformation in the church by the means of a new and *extraordinary* effusion of the Holy Spirit. He expressed his abhorrence of the licentious tenets which several of the Anabaptists had maintained, with respect to the lawfulness of polygamy and divorce; and finally considered, as unworthy of toleration, those fanatics who were of opinion that the Holy Ghost continued to descend into the minds of many chosen believers, in as extraordinary a manner as it did at the first establishment of the Christian church, and that it testified its peculiar presence to several of the faithful, by miracles, predictions, dreams, and visions of various kinds. He retained, indeed, the doctrines commonly received among the Anabaptists in relation to the baptism of infants, the *Millennium*, or thousand-years' reign of Christ upon earth, the exclusion of magistrates from the Christian church, the abolition of war, and the prohibition of oaths enjoined by our Saviour, and the vanity, as well as the pernicious effects, of human science. But, while Menno retained these doctrines in a general sense, he explained and modified them in such a manner, as made them resemble the religious tenets which were universally received in the protestant

churches; and this rendered them agreeable to many, CENT. XVI. and made them appear inoffensive even to numbers who had no inclination to embrace them. Indeed, it so happened, that the nature of the doctrines, considered in themselves, the eloquence of Menno, which set them off to such advantage, and the circumstances of the times, gave a high degree of credit to the religious system of this famous teacher among the Anabaptists, so that it made a rapid progress in that sect. And thus it was in consequence of the ministry of Menno that the different sorts of Anabaptists agreed together in excluding from their communion the fanatics who dishonored it, and in renouncing all tenets that were detrimental to the authority of civil government, and, by an unexpected coalition, formed themselves into one community [u].

[u] These facts shew us plainly how the famous question concerning the origin of the modern Anabaptists may be resolved. The Mennonites oppose, with all their might, the account of their descent from the ancient Anabaptists, which we find in so many writers, and would willingly give the modern Anabaptists a more honorable origin. (See Schyn's Histor. Mennonitar. cap. viii. ix. xxi. p. 223.) The reason of their zeal in this matter is evident. Their situation has rendered them timorous. They live, as it were, in the midst of their enemies, and are constantly filled with an uneasy apprehension, that, at some time or other, malevolent zealots may take occasion, from their supposed origin, to renew against them the penal laws, by which the seditious Anabaptists of ancient times suffered in such a dreadful manner. At least, they imagine that the odium under which they lie, will be greatly diminished, if they can prove, to the satisfaction of the public, the falsehood of the general opinion, that "the Mennonites are the descendants of the Anabaptists;" or, to speak more properly, "the same individual sect, purged indeed from the fanaticism that formerly disgraced it, and rendered wiser than their ancestors, by reflexion and suffering."

After comparing diligently and impartially what has been alleged by the Mennonites and their adversaries in relation to this matter, I cannot see what it is properly, that forms the subject of their controversy; and if the merits of the case be stated with accuracy and perspicuity, I do not see how there can be any dispute at all about the matter now under consideration. For, in the first place, if the Mennonites mean nothing more than this, that Menno, whom they consider as their parent and

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The origin of the sects that have started up among the Anabaptists.

X. To preserve a spirit of union and concord in a body composed of such a motley multitude of dis-

their chief, was not infected with those odious opinions which drew the just severity of the laws upon the Anabaptists of Munster; that he neither looked for a new and spotless kingdom that was to be miraculously erected on earth, nor excited the multitude to depose magistrates, and abolish civil government; that he neither deceived himself, nor imposed upon others, by fanatical pretensions to dreams and visions of the supernatural kind; if (I say) this be all that the Mennonites mean, when they speak of their chief, no person, acquainted with the history of their sect, will pretend to contradict them. Even those who maintain that there was an immediate and intimate connexion between the ancient and modern Anabaptists, will readily allow to be true, all that has been here said of Menno.—2dly, If the Anabaptists maintain, that such of their churches as received their doctrine and discipline from Menno, have not only discovered, without interruption, a pacific spirit and an unlimited submission to civil government (abstaining from every thing that bears the remotest aspect of sedition, and shewing the utmost abhorrence of wars and bloodshed), but have even banished from their confessions of faith, and their religious instructions, all those tenets and principles which led the ancient Anabaptists to disobedience, violence, and rebellion; this also will be readily granted.—And if they allege, in the third place, that even the Anabaptists who lived before Menno, were not *all* so delirious as Munzer, or so outrageous as the fanatical members of the sect, who rendered their memory eternally odious by the enormities they committed at Munster; that, on the contrary, many of these ancient Anabaptists abstained religiously from all acts of violence and sedition, followed the pious examples of the ancient Waldenses, Henricians, Petrobrusians, Hussites, and Wickliffites, and adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, as soon as that new parent arose to reform and patronise the sect; all this will be allowed without hesitation.

But, on the other hand, the Mennonites may assert many things in defence of the purity of their origin, which cannot be admitted by any person who is free from prejudice, and well acquainted with their history. If they maintain, 1st, that none of their sect descended, by birth, from those Anabaptists, who involved Germany and other countries in the most dreadful calamities, or that none of these furious fanatics adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, they may be easily refuted by a great number of facts and testimonies, and particularly by the declarations of Menno himself, who glories in his having conquered the ferocity, and reformed the lives and errors of many members of this pestilential sect. Nothing can be more certain than this fact, viz. that the first Mennonite congregations were composed of the different sorts of Anabaptists already mentioned, of

sonant members, required more than human power; and Menno neither had, nor pretended to have, supernatural succors. Accordingly, the seeds of dissension were, in a little time, sown among this people. About the middle of this century, a warm contest, concerning excommunication, was excited by several Anabaptists, headed by Leonard Bowenson and Theodore Philip; and its fruits are yet visible in that divided sect. These men carried the discipline of excommunication to an enormous degree of severity. They not only maintained, that open transgressors, even those who sincerely deplored and lamented their faults, should, without any previous CENT. XVI.

those who had been always inoffensive and upright, and of those who, before their conversion by the ministry of Menno, had been seditious fanatics. Nor can the acknowlegement of this incontestable fact be a just matter of reproach to the Mennonites, or be more dishonorable to them, than it is to us, that our ancestors were warmly attached to the idolatrous and extravagant worship of paganism or popery.—Again, it will not be possible for us to agree with the Mennonites, if they maintain, 2dly, that their sect does not retain, at this day, any of those tenets, or even any remains of those opinions and doctrines which led the seditious and turbulent Anabaptists of old to the commission of so many, and of such enormous crimes. For, not to mention Menno's calling the Anabaptists of Munster his *Brethren* (a denomination indeed somewhat softened by the epithet of *erring*, which he joined to it), it is undoubtedly true, that the doctrine concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom, or the church of the New Testament, which led by degrees the ancient Anabaptists to those furious acts of rebellion that rendered them so odious, is by no means effaced in the minds of the modern Mennonites. It is, indeed, weakened and modified in such a manner as to have lost its noxious qualities, and to be no longer pernicious in its influence; but it is not totally renounced or abolished.—I shall not now inquire how far even the reformed and milder sect of Menno has been, in time past, exempt from tumults and commotions of a grievous kind, nor shall I examine what passes at this day among the Anabaptists in general, or in particular branches of that sect, since it is certain, that the more eminent communities of that denomination, particularly those that flourish in North Holland, and the places adjacent, behold fanatics with the utmost aversion, as appears evidently from this circumstance, among others, that they will not suffer the people called Quakers to enter into their communion.

CENT. XVI. warning or admonition, be expelled from the communion of the church, but were also audacious enough to pretend to exclude the persons, thus excommunicated, from all intercourse with their wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives. The same persons, as might naturally be expected from this instance of their severity, were harsh and rigid in their manners, and were for imposing upon their brethren a course of moral discipline, which was difficult and austere in the highest degree. Many of the Anabaptists protested against this, as unreasonable and unnecessary; and thus the community was suddenly divided into two sects, one of which treated transgressors with lenity and moderation, while the other proceeded against them with the utmost rigor. Nor was this the only difference that was observable in the conduct and manners of these two parties, since the members of the latter sect were remarkable for the sordid austerity that reigned in their rules of life and practice, while the former, considering more wisely the present state of human nature, were less severe in their injunctions, and were not altogether regardless of what is called decent, agreeable, and ornamental in life and manners. Menno employed his most vigorous efforts to heal these divisions, and to restore peace and concord in the community; but, when he perceived that his attempts were vain, he conducted himself in such a manner as he thought the most proper to maintain his credit and influence among both parties. For this purpose he declared himself for neither side, but was constantly trimming between the two, as long as he lived; at one time, discovering an inclination toward the austere Anabaptists; and, at another, seeming to prefer the milder discipline and manners of the moderate brethren. But in this he acted in opposition to the plainest dictates of prudence; and accordingly the high degree of authority he enjoyed, rendered his inconstancy and irresolution not only disagreeable to

both parties, but also the means of inflaming, instead of healing, their divisions [w]. CENT. XVI.

The rigid and moderate Anabaptists.

XI. These two sects are, to this very day, distinguished by the denominations of *fine* and *gross* [x], or, to express the distinction in more intelligible terms, into *rigid* and *moderate* Anabaptists. The former observe, with the most religious accuracy, veneration, and precision, the ancient doctrine, discipline, and precepts of the purer sort of Anabaptists; the latter depart much more from the primitive sentiments, manners, and institutions of their sect, and more nearly approach those of the protestant churches. The gross or moderate Anabaptists consisted, at first, of the inhabitants of a district in North-Holland, called Waterland; and hence their whole sect received the denomination of Waterlandians [y]. The fine or rigid part of that community were, for the most part,

[w] See the Historia Bellorum et Certaminum quæ, ab An. 1615, inter Mennonitas contigerunt, published by an anonymous Mennonite.—See also a German work by Simon Frederic Rues, entitled Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Mennoniten, published at Jena in 1743.

☞ [x] The terms *fine* and *gross* are a literal translation of *feinen* and *groben*, which are the German denominations used to distinguish these two sects. The same terms have been introduced among the protestants in Holland; the *fine* denoting a set of people, whose extraordinary and sometimes fanatical devotion resembles that of the English Methodists; while the epithet *gross* is applied to the generality of Christians, who make no extraordinary pretensions to sanctity and devotion.

[y] See Fred. Spanhemii Elenchus Controvers. Theol. op. tom. iii. p. 772. The Waterlandians were also called Johannites, from John de Ries, who was of great use to them in many respects, and who, assisted by Lubert Gerard, composed their confession of faith in 1580. This confession (which far surpasses both in point of simplicity and wisdom all the other confessions of the Mennonites) has passed through several editions, and has been lately republished by Herman Schyn, in his Histor. Mennon. It was also illustrated in an ample Commentary, in 1686, by Peter Joannis, a native of Holland, and pastor among the Waterlandians. It has, however, been alleged, that this famous production is by no means the general confession of the Waterlandians, but the private one only of that particular congregation, of which its author was the pastor. See Rues, Nachrichten, p. 93.

CENT. XVI. natives of Flanders; and hence their sect acquired the denomination of Flemings or Flandrians. But new dissensions and contests arose among these rigid Anabaptists, not, indeed, concerning any point of doctrine, but about the manner of treating persons that were to be excommunicated, and other matters of inferior moment. Hence a new schism arose; and they were subdivided into new sects, distinguished by the appellations of Flandrians and Friselanders, who differed from each other in their manners and discipline. The members of a third division took the name of their country, like the two former sects, and were called Germans; for the Anabaptists of Germany passed in shoals into Holland and the Netherlands. But, in process of time, the greatest part of these three sects came over, by degrees, to the moderate community of the Waterlandians, with whom they lived in the strictest bonds of peace and union. Those among the rigid Anabaptists, who refused to follow this example of moderation, are still known by the denomination of the Old Flemings or Flandrians, but are few in number, when compared with the united congregations of the milder sects now mentioned.

The source from which the Mennonites drew their doctrine.

XII. No sooner had the ferment of enthusiasm subsided among the Mennonites, than all the different sects, into which they had been divided, unanimously agreed to draw the whole system of their religious doctrine from the Holy Scriptures alone. To give a satisfactory proof of the sincerity of their resolution in this respect, they took care to have *Confessions* drawn up, in which their sentiments concerning the Deity, and the manner of serving him, were expressed in the terms and phrases of Holy Writ. The most ancient, and also the most respectable of these Confessions, is that which we find among the Waterlandians. Several others, of later date, were also composed, some for the use of large communities, for the people of a whole district, and which were consequently submitted to the inspection of the

magistrate; others designed only for the benefit of private societies[z]. It might not, perhaps, be amiss to inquire, whether all the tenets received among the Mennonites are faithfully exhibited and plainly expressed in these confessions, or whether several points be not there omitted which relate to the internal constitution of this sect, and would give us a complete idea of its nature and tendency. One thing is certain, that whoever peruses these confessions with an ordinary degree of attention, will easily perceive, that those tenets which appear detrimental to the interests of civil society, particularly such as relate to the prerogatives of magistracy, and the administration of oaths, are expressed with the utmost caution, and embellished with the greatest art, to prevent their bearing an alarming aspect. At the same time, the more discerning observer will see, that these embellishments are intended to disguise the truth, and that the doctrines of the Anabaptists, concerning the critical points above-mentioned, are not represented, in their public confessions, in their real colors. CENT. XVI.

XIII. The ancient Anabaptists, who trusted in an extraordinary direction of the Holy Spirit, were (under the pretended influence of so infallible a guide) little solicitous about composing a system of religion, and never once thought of instilling into the minds Their religion was late reduced into a system.

[z] See Schyn's Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennon. cap. iv. where he maintains, that "these Confessions prove as great an uniformity among the Mennonites, in relation to the great and fundamental doctrines of religion, as can be pretended to by any other Christian community." But should the good man even succeed in persuading us of this boasted uniformity, he will yet never be able to make his assertion go down with many of his own brethren, who are, to this day, quarreling about several points of religion, and who look upon matters, which appear to him of little consequence, as of high moment and importance to the cause of true piety. And, indeed, how could any of the Mennonites, before the present (*eighteenth*) century, believe what Schyn here affirms, since it is well known, that they disputed about matters which he treats with contempt, as if they had been immediately connected with their eternal interests?

CENT. XVI. of the people just sentiments of the Deity. Hence warm dissensions arose among them, concerning matters of the highest consequence, such as the divinity of Christ, polygamy, and divorce. Menno and his disciples made some attempts to supply this defect. Yet we find, after his time, that the Mennonites, more especially those of the rigid class, carried the freedom of their religious speculations to such an excessive height, as bordered upon extravagance. This circumstance alone, were there no other, proves that the heads of this sect employed the smallest part of their zeal to prevent the introduction and propagation of error, and that they looked upon sanctity of life and manners alone as the essence of true religion. The Waterlandians, indeed, and after them the other Anabaptists, were obliged, at length, to draw up a summary of their doctrine, and to lay it before the public, in order to remove the odium that was cast upon them, on account of their bold tenets and their extravagant disputes, which were likely to involve them in the greatest calamities. But these confessions of the Mennonites were, in reality, little more than a method of defence, to which they were reduced by the opposition they met with, and must therefore be rather considered as an expedient to avert the indignation of their enemies, than as articles of doctrine, which all of them without exception were obliged to believe. For we do not find among the Mennonites (a part of the modern Waterlandians excepted) any injunction, which expressly prohibits individuals from entertaining or propagating religious opinions different from the public creed of the community; and, indeed, when we look attentively into the nature and constitution of this sect, it will appear to have been, in some measure, founded upon this principle, that practical piety is the essence of religion, and that the surest and most infallible mark of the true church is the sanctity of its members; it is at least certain, that this principle was always universally adopted by the Anabaptists.

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The religion of the Mennonites.

XIV. If we are to form our judgement of the religion of the Mennonites from their public creeds and confessions, we shall find, that, though it differs widely from the doctrine of the Lutherans, it varies little in most points from that of the reformed church. They consider the sacraments in no other light, than as *signs* or symbols of the spiritual blessings administered in the Gospel; and their ecclesiastical discipline seems to be almost entirely the same with that of the Presbyterians. There are, however, peculiar tenets, by which they are distinguished from all other religious communities; and these may be reduced under three heads; for it is observable, that there are certain doctrines, which are holden in common by all the various sects of the Mennonites; others, which are only received in some of the more eminent and numerous sects of that community (such were the sentiments of Menno, which hindered him from being universally acceptable to the Anabaptists); and some, which are only to be found among the more obscure and inconsiderable societies of that denomination. These last, indeed, appear and vanish, alternately, with the transitory sects that adopt them, and therefore do not deserve to engage our attention.

The great principle on which the general doctrine of the Mennonites is founded.

XV. The opinions, entertained by the Mennonites in general, seem to be derived from this leading and fundamental principle, that 'the kingdom which Christ established upon earth is a visible church, or community, into which the holy and the just are alone to be admitted, and which is consequently exempt from all those institutions and rules of discipline that have been invented by human wisdom for the correction and reformation of the wicked.'

This fanatical principle was frankly avowed by the ancient Mennonites: their more immediate descendants, however, began to be less ingenuous; and, in their public confessions of faith, they either disguised it under ambiguous phrases, or expressed themselves as if they meant to renounce it. To renounce it entirely was, indeed, impossible, without falling into

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the greatest inconsistency, and undermining the very foundation of those doctrines which distinguished them from all other Christian societies[a]. And yet it is certain that the present Mennonites, as they have, in many other respects, departed from the principles and maxims of their ancestors, have also given a striking instance of defection in the case now before us, and have almost wholly relinquished this fundamental doctrine of their sect, relating to the nature of the Christian church. A dismal experience has convinced them of the absurdity of this chimerical principle, which the dictates of reason, and the declarations of Scripture, had demonstrated sufficiently, but without effect. Now, that the Mennonites have opened their eyes, they seem to be pretty generally agreed about the following tenets: first, That there is an invisible church, which is universal in its extent, and is composed of members from all the sects and communities that bear the Christian name: secondly, That the mark of the true church is not, as their

[a] That they did not entirely relinquish it, is evident from their own creeds and confessions, even from those in which the greatest caution has been employed to conceal the principles that rendered their ancestors odious, and to disguise whatever might render themselves liable to suspicion. For example, they speak in the most pompous terms concerning the dignity, excellence, utility, and divine origin, of civil magistrates; and I am willing to suppose that they speak their real sentiments in this matter. But, when they proceed to give reasons that prevent their admitting magistrates into their communion, they discover unwarily the very principles which they are otherwise so studious to conceal. Thus, in the thirtieth article of the Waterlandian Confession, they declare, that "Jesus Christ has not comprehended the institution of civil magistracy in his spiritual kingdom, in the church of the New Testament, nor has he added it to the offices of his church:" The Latin words are: "Potestatem hanc politicam Dominus Jesus in regno suo spirituali, ecclesiâ Novi Testamenti, non instituit, neque hanc officiis ecclesiæ suæ adjunxit." Hence it appears, that the Mennonites look upon the church of the New Testament as a holy republic, inaccessible to the wicked, and, consequently, exempt from those institutions and laws which are necessary to oppose the progress of iniquity. Why then do they not speak plainly, when they deliver their doctrine concerning the nature of the church, instead of affecting ambiguity and evasions?

former doctrine supposed, to be sought in the unspotted sanctity of all its members (since they acknowlege that the visible church is promiscuously composed of the righteous and the wicked), but in the knowlege of the truth, as it was delivered by Christ, and in the agreement of all the members of the church in professing and defending it. CENT. XVI.

XVI. Notwithstanding all this, it is manifest, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the religious opinions which still distinguish the Mennonites from all other Christian communities, flow directly from the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists concerning the nature of the church. It is in consequence of this doctrine, that they admit none to the sacrament of baptism, but persons who are come to the full use of their reason; because infants are incapable of binding themselves by a solemn vow to a holy life, and it is altogether uncertain whether, in mature years, they will be saints or sinners. Influenced by the same doctrine, they neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy; for, where there are no malefactors, magistrates are useless. Hence they pretend also to deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war, in all its shapes, as unchristian and unjust; for, as those who are *perfectly holy*, can neither be provoked by injuries, nor commit them, they do not stand in need of the force of arms, either for the purposes of resentment or defence. It is still the same principle that excites in them the utmost aversion to the execution of justice, and more especially to capital punishments; since, according to this principle, there are no transgressions or crimes in the kingdom of Christ, and consequently no occasion for the arm of the judge. Nor can it be imagined, that they should refuse to confirm their testimony by an oath upon any other foundation than this, that the perfect members of a holy church can neither dissemble nor deceive. It was certainly then the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists, concerning the Their peculiar tenets or doctrines.

CENT. XVI. sanctity of the church, that gave rise to the tenets now mentioned, and was the source of that rigid and severe discipline, which excited such tumults and divisions among the members of that community.

Their system of morality.

XVII. The rules of moral discipline, formerly observed by the Mennonites, were rigorous and austere in the highest degree, and thus every way conformable to the fundamental principle, which has been already mentioned as the source of all their peculiar tenets. It is somewhat doubtful whether these rules still subsist and are respected among them; but it is certain, that in former times their moral precepts were very severe. And indeed it could not well be otherwise: for, when these people had once imbibed a notion that sanctity of manners was the *only* genuine mark of the true church, it may well be imagined, that they would spare no pains to obtain this honorable character for their sect; and that, for this purpose, they would use the strictest precautions to guard their brethren against disgracing their profession by immoral practices. Hence it was, that they unanimously, and no doubt justly, exalted the rules of the Gospel, on account of their transcendent purity. They alleged, that Christ had promulgated a new law of life, far more perfect than that which had been delivered by Moses and the prophets; and they excluded from their communion all such as deviated, in the least, from the most rigorous rules of simplicity and gravity in their looks, their gestures, their clothing, and their tables; all whose desires surpassed the dictates of mere necessity; and even all who observed a certain decorum in their manners, and paid a decent regard to the innocent customs of the world. But this primitive austerity is greatly diminished in the more considerable sects of the Mennonites, and more especially among the Waterlandians and Germans. The opulence they have acquired, by their industry and commerce, has relaxed their severity, softened their manners, and rendered them less insensible of the sweets of life; so that at this day the Mennonite

congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter of censure and admonition as any other Christian community [b]. There are, however, still some remains of the abstinence and severity of manners that prevailed formerly among the Anabaptists; but these are only to be found among some of the smaller sects of that persuasion, and more particularly among those who live remote from great and populous cities. CENT. XVI.

XVIII. The particular sentiments and opinions that divided the more considerable societies of the Mennonites, were those which follow: 1. Menno denied that Christ derived from his mother the body he assumed; and thought, on the contrary, that it was produced out of nothing, in the womb of that blessed virgin, by the creative power of the Holy Ghost [c]. This opinion is yet firmly maintained by The singular tenets of some sects.

☞ [b] It is certain, that the Mennonites in Holland, at this day, are, in their tables, their equipages, and their country seats, the most luxurious part of the Dutch nation. This is more especially true of the Mennonites of Amsterdam, who are very numerous and opulent.

[c] This is the account that is given of the opinion of Menno by Herman Schyn, in his Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennonit. which other writers represent in a different manner. After an attentive perusal of several passages in the writings of Menno, where he professedly handles this very subject, it appears to me more than probable, that he inclined to the opinion attributed to him in the text, and that it was in this sense only, that he supposed Christ to be clothed with a divine and celestial body; for that may, without impropriety, be called celestial and divine, which is produced immediately, in consequence of a creating act, by the Holy Ghost. It must, however, be acknowleged, that Menno does not seem to have been unchangeably wedded to this opinion; for, in several places, he expresses himself ambiguously on this head, and even sometimes falls into inconsistencies. Hence, perhaps, it may not be unreasonable to conclude, that he renounced indeed the common opinion concerning the origin of Christ's human nature, but was undetermined with respect to the hypothesis, which, among many that were proposed, it was proper to substitute in its place. ☞ See Fueslini Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformator. Helveticis scriptar. p. 383.—Be that as it may, Menno is generally considered as the author of this opinion concerning the origin of Christ's body, which is still entertained by the more rigid part of his followers.

CENT. XVI. the ancient Flemings or rigid Anabaptists, but has, long since, been renounced by all the other sects of that denomination [d]. 2. The more austere Mennonites, like their forefathers, not only animadvert, with the most unrelenting severity, upon actions manifestly criminal, and evidently repugnant to the divine laws, but also treat, in the same manner, the smallest marks of an internal propensity to the pleasures of sense, or of a disposition to comply with the customs of the world. They condemn, for example, elegant dress, rich furniture, every thing, in a word, that looks like ornament, or surpasses the bounds of absolute necessity. Their conduct also to offenders is truly merciless; for they expel them from the church without previous admonition, and never temper the rigor of their judgements by an equitable consideration of the infirmities of nature in this imperfect state. The other Mennonites are by no means chargeable with this severity toward their offending brethren; they exclude none from their communion

It appears probable, nevertheless, that this opinion was much older than his time, and was only adopted by him with the other tenets of the Anabaptists. As a proof of this, it may be observed, that Bolandus, in his Poem, entitled, Motus Monasteriensis, lib. x. v. 49, plainly declares, that many of the Anabaptists of Munster (who certainly had not been instructed by Menno) held this very doctrine in relation to Christ's incarnation:

Esse * Deum statuunt alii, sed corpore carnem
Humanam sumto sustinuisse negant:
At Diam mentem, tenuis quasi fauce canalis,
Per Mariæ corpus virginis isse ferunt.

[d] Many writers are of opinion, that the Waterlandians, of all the Anabaptists, evinced the strongest propensity to adopt the doctrine of Menno, relating to the origin of Christ's body. See Histoire des Anabaptistes, p. 223, and the Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde, tom. iv. p. 200. But that these writers are in an error, is abundantly manifest from the public Confession of Faith of the Waterlandians, composed by John de Ries. See also, for a farther refutation of this mistake, Herm. Schyn's Deduct. Plen. p. 165.

* Christum.

but the obstinate contemners of the divine laws; nor do they proceed to this extremity even with regard to such, until repeated admonitions have proved ineffectual to reform them. 3. The more rigid Mennonites look upon excommunicated persons as the pests of society, who are to be avoided on all occasions, and to be banished from all the comforts of social intercourse. Neither the voice of nature, nor the ties of blood, are allowed to plead in their behalf, or to procure them the smallest degree of indulgence. In such a case the exchange of good offices, the sweets of friendly conversation, and the mutual effusions of tenderness and love, are cruelly suspended, even between parents and children, husbands and wives, and also in all the other endearing relations of human life. But the more moderate branches of this community have wisely rejected this unnatural discipline, and consider the honor and sanctity of the church as sufficiently vindicated, when its members avoid a close and particular intimacy with those who have been expelled from its communion. 4. The rigid Anabaptists enjoin it as an obligation upon their disciples, and the members of their community, to wash the feet of their guests as a token of brotherly love and affection, and in obedience to the example of Christ; which they suppose, in this case, to have the force of a positive command; and hence they are sometimes called *Podoniptæ*. But the other Mennonites deny that Christ meant, in this instance of his goodness and condescension, to recommend this custom to the imitation of his followers, or to give to his example, in this case, the authority of a positive precept.

The state of learning and philosophy among the Anabaptists.

XIX. The Anabaptists, however divided on other subjects, agreed in their notions of learning and philosophy, which, in former times, they unanimously considered as the pests of the Christian church, and as highly detrimental to the progress of true religion and virtue. Hence it happened, that among a considerable number of writers who, in this century, employed their pens in the defence of that sect, there

CENT. XVI. is not one whose labors bear any inviting marks of learning or genius. The rigid Mennonites persevere still in the barbarous system of their ancestors, and, neglecting the improvement of the mind and the culture of the sciences, devote themselves entirely to trade, manual industry, and the mechanic arts. The Waterlandians, indeed, are honorably distinguished from all the other Anabaptists, in this, as well as in many other respects; for they permit several members of their community to frequent the public universities, and there to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, antiquities, and more especially of physic, whose utility and importance they do not pretend to deny; and hence it happens, that, in our times, so many pastors among the Mennonites assume the title and profession of physicians. It is not unusual to see Anabaptists of this more humane and moderate class engaged even in philosophical researches, to the excellence and advantages of which their eyes are, at length, so far opened, as to make them acknowlege their importance to the well-being of society. It was, no doubt, in consequence of this change of sentiment that they erected, not long ago, a public seminary of learning at Amsterdam, in which there is always a person of eminent abilities chosen as professor of philosophy. But, though these moderate Anabaptists acknowlege the benefit that may be derived to civil society from the culture of philosophy and the sciences, they still persist so far in their ancient prejudices, as to deem theology a system that has no connexion with them; and, consequently, they are of opinion, that in order to preserve it pure and untainted, the utmost caution must be used not to blend the dictates of philosophy with the doctrines of religion. It is farther to be observed, that, in the present times, even the Flemish or rigid Anabaptists begin gradually to divest themselves of their antipathy to learning, and allow their brethren to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, and the sciences.

XX. That simplicity and ignorance, of which the ancient Anabaptists boasted, as the guardians of their piety and the sources of their felicity, contributed principally to the divisions that prevailed among them, even from their rise, in a degree unknown and unprecedented in any other Christian community. This will appear evident to such as inquire, with the smallest attention, into the more immediate causes of their dissensions; for it is observable, that their most vehement contests had not for their object any difference in opinion concerning the doctrines or mysteries of religion, but generally turned upon matters relating to the conduct of life, on what was lawful, decent, just, and pious, in actions and manners, and what, on the contrary, was to be deemed criminal, indecorous, unjust, or impious. These disputes were a natural consequence of their favorite principle, that holiness of life, and purity of manners, were the authentic marks of the true church. But the misfortune lay here, that, being ignorant themselves, and under the guidance of persons whose knowlege was little superior to theirs, they were unacquainted with the true method of determining, in a multitude of cases, what was pious, laudable, and lawful, and what was impious, unbecoming, and criminal. The criterion they employed for this purpose was neither the decision of right reason, nor the authority of the divine laws, accurately interpreted, since their ignorance rendered them incapable of using these means of arriving at the truth. They judged, therefore, of these matters by the suggestions of fancy, and the opinions of others. But, as this method of discerning between right and wrong, decent and indecent, was extremely uncertain and precarious, and necessarily tended to produce a variety of decisions, according to the different feelings, fancies, tempers, and capacities of different persons, hence naturally arose diversity of sentiments, debates, and contests of various kinds. These debates produced schisms, which are never

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Their division into a multitude of sects.

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more easily excited, or more obstinately fomented and perpetuated, than where ignorance, the true source of bigotry, prevails.

The first solid settlement of the Mennonites in the United Provinces.

XXI. The Mennonites, after having been long in an uncertain and precarious situation, obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United Provinces, under the shade of a legal toleration procured for them by William, prince of Orange, the glorious founder of Belgic liberty. This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to Christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged, by gratitude, to favor the Mennonites, who had assisted him, in 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted[e]. The fruits, however, of this toleration, were not immediately enjoyed by all the Anabaptists that were dispersed through the different provinces of the rising republic; for, in several places, both the civil magistrates and the clergy made a long and obstinate opposition to the will of the prince in this matter; particularly in the province of Zealand and the city of Amsterdam, where the plots formed by the Anabaptists, and the tumults they had excited, were still remembered by the people with horror[f]. This opposition, indeed, was in a great measure conquered before the conclusion of this century, partly by the resolution and influence of William the First, and his son Maurice, and partly by the exemplary conduct of the Mennonites, who manifested their zealous attachment to the republic on several occasions, and redoubled, instead of diminishing, the precautions which were calculated to remove all grounds of suspicion, and take from their adversaries every pretext which could render their opposition justifiable.

[e] See Brandt, Historie der Reformatie in de Nederlande, vol. i. p. 525.—Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde, tom. iv. p. 201.

[f] Brandt's Hist. book xi. p. 555, 586, 609; book xiv. p. 780; book xvi. p. 811.

But it was not before the following century, that their liberty and tranquillity were fixed upon solid foundations, when, by a Confession of Faith, published in 1626, they cleared themselves from the imputation of those pernicious and detestable errors which had been laid to their charge [g]. CENT. XVI.

The English Anabaptists.

XXII. The sectaries in England, who reject the custom of baptising infants, are not distinguished by the title of Anabaptists, but by that of Baptists. It is, however, probable, that they derive their origin from the German and Dutch Mennonites, and that, in former times, they adopted their doctrine in all its points. That, indeed, is by no means the case at present; for the English Baptists differ, in many things, both from the ancient and modern Mennonites. They are divided into two sects. The members of one sect are distinguished by the denomination of General or Arminian Baptists, on account of their rejection of the doctrine of absolute and unconditional decrees; and the others are called Particular or Calvinistical Baptists, from the striking resemblance of their religious system to that of the presbyterians, who have Calvin for their chief [h]. The Baptists of the latter sect settled chiefly at London, and in the adjacent towns and villages; and they have departed so far from the tenets of their ancestors, that, at this day, they retain no more of the peculiar doctrines and institutions of the Mennonites, than the administration of baptism by immersion, and the refusal of that sacrament to infants, and those of tender years; and consequently they have none of those scruples relating to oaths, wars, and the functions of magistracy, which still remain among even the most rational part of the modern Mennonites. They observe in their congregations the same rules of government, and the same forms of worship, that are followed by the presbyterians; and their community is under the direction of

[g] See Herm. Schyn's Deduct. Plen. cap. iv. p. 79.

[h] See Whiston's Memoirs of his Life and Writings, vol. ii. p. 461.

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men eminent for their piety and learning[i]. From their Confession of Faith, published in 1643, it appears plainly, that their religious sentiments were then the same as they are at this day[k].

The opinions of the General and Particular Anabaptists in England.

XXIII. The General Baptists, or, as they are called by some, the Antipædobaptists, are dispersed in great numbers through several counties of England, and are, for the most part, persons of mean condition, and almost totally destitute of learning and knowlege. This latter circumstance will appear less surprising, when it is considered, that, like the ancient Mennonites, they profess a contempt of erudition and science. There is much latitude in their system of religious doctrine, which consists in such vague and general principles, as render their communion accessible to Christians of almost all denominations; and, accordingly, they tolerate, in fact, and receive among them, persons of every sect, even Socinians and Arians; nor do they reject, from their communion, any who profess themselves Christians, and receive the Scriptures as the source of truth, and the rule of faith[l]. They agree with the Particular Baptists

[i] See a German work composed by Ant. William Bohm, under the title of the History of the Reformation in England, p. 151, 473, 536, 1152.

[k] Bibliotheque Britannique, tom. vi.

[l] This appears evidently from their Confession of Faith, which appeared first in 1660, was re-published by Mr. Whiston, in the Memoirs of his Life, vol. ii. p. 561, and is drawn up with such latitude, that, with the removal and alteration of a few points *, it may be adopted by Christians of all denominations †. Mr. Whiston, though an Arian, became a member of this Baptist community, which, as he thought, came nearest to the simplicity

☞ * Namely, those relating to universal redemption, the perseverance of the saints, election and reprobation, which are illustrated entirely on Arminian principles, and consequently cannot be embraced by rigid Calvinists; not to mention the points relating to baptism, which are the distinctive marks of this sect.

☞ † Our author certainly does not mean to include Roman catholics in this large class; for then his assertion would not be true.

in this circumstance, that they admit to baptism adult persons only, and administer that sacrament by dipping or total immersion; but they differ from them in another respect, that is, in their repeating the administration of baptism to those who had received it, either in a state of infancy, or by aspersion, instead of dipping; for, if the common accounts may be believed, the Particular Baptists do not carry matters so far. The following sentiments, rites, and tenets, are also peculiar to the former: 1. After the manner of the ancient Mennonites, they look upon their sect as the only true Christian church, and consequently shun, with the most scrupulous caution, the communion of all other religious societies. 2. They dip only once (and not three times, as is practised elsewhere), the candidates for baptism, and consider it as a matter of indifference, whether that sacrament be administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in that of Christ alone. 3. They adopt the doctrine of Menno with respect to the Millennium, or the reign of the saints with Christ upon earth for a thousand years. 4. Many of them embrace his particular opinion concerning the origin of Christ's body [m]. 5. They look upon the precept of the apostles, prohibiting the use of blood and things strangled [n], as a law that was designed to be in force in all ages and periods of the church. 6. They believe that the soul, from the moment that the body dies until its resurrection at the last day, remains in a state of perfect insensibility. 7. They use the ceremony of extreme unction. And, to omit matters of a more trifling nature, 8. Several of them observe the Jewish, as well as the Christian

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of the primitive and apostolic age. The famous Mr. Emlyn, who was persecuted on account of his Socinian principles, joined himself also to this society, and died in their communion.

☞ [m] Namely, that the body of Jesus was not derived from the substance of the blessed Virgin, but was *created* in her womb by an omnipotent act of the Holy Spirit.

[n] Acts xv. 29.

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The Davidists, or David-Georgians.

XXIV. Before we conclude the history of the Anabaptists, it may not be improper to mention a very singular and ridiculous sect that was founded by David George, a native of Delft, and a member of that community. This enthusiast, after having laid the foundation of the sect of the Davidists, or David-Georgians, deserted the Anabaptists, and removed to Basil, in 1544, where he changed his name, and, by the liberality and splendor that attended his opulence, joined to his probity and purity of manners, acquired a very high degree of esteem, which he preserved till his death. The lustre of his reputation was, however, transitory; for, soon after his decease, which happened in 1556, his son-in-law, Nicolas Blesdyck, charged him with having maintained the most blasphemous and pestilential errors. The senate of Basil, before whom this accusation was brought, being satisfied with the evidence by which it was supported, pronounced sentence against the deceased heretic, and ordered his body to be dug up and publicly burned. And indeed, nothing more horridly impious and extravagant can be conceived, than the sentiments and tenets of this fanatic, if they were really such as they have been represented, either by his accusers or his historians; for he is said to have given himself out for the Son of God, the fountain of divine wisdom, to have denied the existence of angels,

[o] These accounts of the doctrine of the Baptists are taken from Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, vol. ii. and also from the second volume of Whiston's Memoirs.

[p] See Whiston's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 466, as also Crosby's History of the English Baptists.

[q] St. John calls them the 'angels of the churches;' the word angel (in Greek ἄγγελος) signifies properly an envoy or messenger.

good and evil, of heaven and hell, and to have rejected the doctrine of a future judgement; and he is also charged with having trampled upon all the rules of decency and modesty with the utmost contempt[r]. In all this, however, there may be much exaggeration. The enthusiast in question, though a man of some natural genius, was, nevertheless, totally destitute of learning of every kind, and had something obscure, harsh, and illiberal in his manner of expression, that gave too much occasion to an unfavorable interpretation of his religious tenets. That he had both more sense and more virtue than he is generally supposed to have possessed, appears manifestly, not only from his numerous writings, but also from the simplicity and candor that were visible in the temper and spirit of the disciples he left behind him, some of whom are yet to be found in Holstein, Friseland, and other countries[s]. He deplored the decline of vital and practical religion, and endeavoured to restore it among his followers; and in this he seemed to imitate the example of the more moderate Anabaptists. But the excessive warmth of an irregular imagination threw him into illusions of the most dangerous and pernicious kind, and seduced him into a persuasion that he was honored with the gift of divine inspiration, and had celestial visions constantly presented to his mind. Thus was he led to such a high degree of fanaticism, that, rejecting as mean and useless the external services of piety, he reduced religion to contemplation, silence, and a certain frame or habit of soul, which it is equally difficult to define and to

[r] See Nic. Blesdyckii Historia Davidis Georgii à Jacobo Revio edita; as also the life of the same fanatic, written in the German language, by Stolterforth. Among the modern writers, see Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, tom. i. p. 750; tom. ii. p. 534 and 1183, in which there are several things that tend to clear the character of David. See also Henr. Mori Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, sect. xxxiii.—and the documents I have published in relation to this matter, in the History of Servetus, p. 425.

[s] See Jo. Molleri Introduct. in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ, par. ii. p. 116, and his Cimbria Literata, tom. i. p. 422.

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understand. The soaring Mystics, and the visionary Quakers, may therefore, if they please, give David George a distinguished rank in their enthusiastical community.

The Family of Love founded by Henry Nicolas.

XXV. Henry Nicolas, a Westphalian, one of the intimate companions of this fanatic, though somewhat different from him in the nature of his enthusiasm, and also in point of genius and character, founded a sect in Holland, in 1555, which he called the *Family of Love*. The principles of this sect were afterwards propagated in England, and produced no small confusion in both countries. The judgement that has been formed with respect to David George may be applied with truth, at least, in a great measure, to his associate Nicolas, who, perhaps, would have prevented a considerable part of the heavy reproaches with which he has been loaded, had he been endowed with a degree of genius, discernment, and knowlege, sufficient to enable him to express his sentiments with perspicuity and elegance. Be that as it may, the character, temper, and views of this man may be learned from the spirit that reigned in his flock [t]. As to his pretensions, they were, indeed, visionary and chimerical; for he maintained, that he had a commission from heaven, to teach men that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of divine love; that all other theological tenets, whether they related to objects of faith, or modes of worship, were of no moment; and consequently, that it was a matter of perfect indifference, what opinions Christians entertained concerning the divine nature, provided their hearts burned with the pure and sacred flame of piety and love. To this, his main doctrine, Nicolas may have probably added other odd fancies, as always is the case with those innovators who are endued with a warm and fruitful imagination; to obtain, however, a true notion of the opinions of this enthusiast, it will be much more

[t] See Jo. Hornbeck, Summa Controvers. lib. vi. p. 393.—Arnold, p. 746.—Bohm, book iv. ch. v. p. 541.

advisable to consult his own writings, than to depend entirely upon the accounts and refutations of his adversaries [u]. CENT. XVI.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of the Socinians.

I. THE Socinians are said to have derived this denomination from the illustrious family of the Sozzini, which flourished a long time at Sienna in Tuscany, and produced several great and eminent men, and among others Lælius and Faustus Socinus, who are commonly supposed to have been the founders of this sect. The former was the son of Marianus, a famous lawyer, and was himself a man of uncommon genius and learning; to which he added, as his very enemies are obliged to acknowlege, the lustre of a virtuous life and of unblemished manners. Being obliged to leave his country, in 1547, on account of the disgust he had conceived against popery, he traveled through France, England, Holland, Germany, and Poland, in order to examine the religious sentiments of those who had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and thus at length to come at the truth. After this he settled at Zurich, where he died in 1562, before he had arrived at the fortieth year of his age [w]. His mild and gentle disposition rendered him averse from whatever had the air of contention The denomination and origin of this sect.

[u] The most learned of all the authors who wrote against the Family of Love, was Dr. Henry More, in his Grand Explanation of the Mystery of Godliness, &c. book vi. George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, inveighed also severely against this seraphic family, and called them a motley tribe of fanatics, because they took oaths, danced, sang, and made merry See Sewell's History of the Quakers, book iii. p. 88, 89, 344.

[w] Cloppenburg, Dissertatio de Origine et Progressu Socinianismi.—Jo. Hornbeck, Summa Controversiarum, p. 563.—Jo. Henr. Hottinger, Hist. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 417.

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The term "Socinian" bears different significations.

II. It is, however, to be observed, that this denomination does not always convey the same ideas, since it is susceptible of different significations, and is, in effect, used sometimes in a more strict and proper, and at others in a more improper and extensive sense. For, according to the usual manner of speaking, all are termed Socinians, whose sentiments bear a certain affinity to the system of Socinus; and those are more especially ranked in that class, who either boldly deny, or artfully explain away, the doctrines that assert the divine nature of Christ, and a trinity of persons in the Godhead. But, in a strict and proper sense, they only are deemed the members of this sect, who embrace wholly, or with a few exceptions, the form of theological doctrine, which Faustus Socinus either drew up himself or received from his uncle, and delivered to the Unitarian brethren, or Socinians, in Poland and Transylvania[y].

[x] Zanchius, Præf. ad Libr. de tribus Elohim.—Beza, Epist. lxxxi. p. 167. Certain writings are attributed to him by Sandius, in his Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar. but it is very doubtful whether he was the real author of them.

[y] We have, hitherto, no complete or accurate history either of the sect called Socinians, or of Lælius and Faustus Socinus, its founders; nor any satisfactory account of those who labored principally with them, and, after them, in giving a permanent and stable form to this community; for the accounts we have of

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The origin of Socinianism.

III. The origin of Socinianism may be traced to the earliest period of the Reformation. Scarcely had that happy revolution in the state of religion taken place, when a set of men, fond of extremes, and consequently disposed to look upon as erroneous whatever had hitherto been taught and professed in the church of Rome, began to undermine the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and the other truths that are connected with it, and proposed reducing the whole of religion to practical piety and virtue. The efforts of these men were opposed with united zeal and vigilance by the Romish, Reformed, and Lutheran churches; and their designs were so far disconcerted, as to prevent their forming themselves and their followers into a regular and permanent sect. So early as the year 1524, the divinity of Christ was openly denied by Louis Hetzer, one of the wandering and fanatical Anabaptists, who, about three years afterwards, suffered death at Constance [z]. There were not wanting, among the first Anabaptists, several persons who entertained the opinions of Hetzer, though it would be manifestly unfair to lay these opinions to the charge of the whole community. But

the Socinians, and their principal doctors, from Hornbeck [1], Calovius [2], Cloppenburg [3], Sandius [4], Lubieniecius [5], and Lauterbach [6], are far from being proper to satisfy the curiosity of those, who desire something more than a vague and superficial knowlege of this matter. The history of Socinianism, published at Paris by Lamy in 1723, is a wretched compilation from the most common-place writers on that subject; it is also full of errors, and is loaded with a variety of matters that have no sort of relation to the history of Socinus, or to the doctrine he taught. The very learned and laborious La Crőze promised a complete history of Socinianism, but did not fulfil this interesting engagement.

[z] Sandii Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.—Jo. Bapt. Ottii Annal. Anabaptist.—Breitingeri Museum Helveticum, tom. v. vi.

[1] In his Socinianism. Confutat. vol. i.—[2] In his Opera Anti-Sociniana.—[3] In his Dissertat. de origine et progressu Socinianismi, tom. ii. op.—[4] In his Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum.—[5] In his Historia Reformationis Polonicæ.—[6] In his Ariano-Socinismus.

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Michael Servetus.

IV. The attempts of Michael Servede[c], or Servetus, a Spanish physician, were much more alarming to those who had the cause of true religion at heart, than the feeble and impotent efforts of the innovators now mentioned. This man, who made so great a noise in the world, was born at Villa-Nueva, in the kingdom of Arragon, distinguished himself by the

[a] See the Dissertation de Joh. Campano, Anti-Trinitario, in the Amœnitates Literariæ of the very learned Schelhornius, tom. xi.

[b] See Schelhornii Dissert. Epistol. de Mino Celso Senensi, Claudio item Allobroge, homine Fanatico et SS. Trinitatis hoste. —Jac. Breitingeri Museum Helvetic. tom. vii.—Jo. Hallerus, Epistol. in Fueslin's Centuria Epistolar. Viror. Eruditor.

[c] By taking away the last syllable of this name (I mean the Spanish termination *de*) there remains *Serve*, which, by placing differently the letters that compose it, makes *Reves*. Servetus assumed the latter name in the title-pages of all his books. He also called himself sometimes *Michael Villanovanus*, or *Villanovanus* alone, after the place of his nativity, omitting the name of his family.

superiority of his genius, and had made a considerable progress in various branches of science. In the years 1531 and 1532, he published, in Latin, his seven books concerning the errors that are contained in the doctrine of the Trinity, and two Dialogues on the same subject, in which he attacked, in the most audacious manner, the sentiments adopted by the greatest part of the Christian church, in relation to the divine nature, and a trinity of persons in the Godhead. Some years after this he traveled into France, and, after a variety of adventures, settled at Vienne in Dauphiné, where he applied himself, with success, to the practice of physic. It was here, that, letting loose the reins of his warm and irregular imagination, he invented that strange system of theology, which was printed, in a clandestine manner, in 1553, under the title of Christianity restored. He seemed to be seised with a passion for reforming (in his way); and many things concurred to favor his designs, such as the fire of his genius, the extent of his learning, the power of his eloquence, the strength of his resolution, the obstinacy of his temper, and an external appearance, at least, of piety, that rendered all the rest doubly engaging. Add, to all this, the protection and friendship of many persons of weight, in France, Germany, and Italy, which he had obtained by his talents and abilities both natural and acquired; and it will appear, that few innovators have set out with a better prospect of success. But, notwithstanding these signal advantages, all his views were totally disappointed by the vigilance and severity of Calvin, who, when Servetus had escaped from his prison, and was passing through Switzerland, in order to seek refuge in Italy, caused him to be apprehended at Geneva, in 1553, and had an accusation of blasphemy brought against him before the council [d]. The issue of this accusation was fatal to Servetus, who,

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☞ [d] This accusation was brought against Servetus by a person, who lived in Calvin's family as a servant; and this circumstance displeased many.

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The doctrine of Servetus.

V. The religious system that Servetus struck out of a wild and irregular fancy, was, indeed, singular in the highest degree. The greatest part of it was a necessary consequence of his peculiar notions

[e] Dr. Mosheim refers the reader here, in a note, to an ample and curious history of Servetus, composed by him in his native tongue. Those who are not acquainted with that language, will find a full account of this singular man, and of his extraordinary history, in a Latin dissertation, composed under the inspection of Dr. Mosheim, and entitled, Historia Michaelis Serveti, quam, Præside Jo. Laur. Moshemio, Doctorum examini publice exponit Henricus ab Allwaerden. There is an accurate history of this unhappy man, written by M. de la Roche, in the first volume of the work, entitled, Memoirs of Literature, containing a Weekly Account of the State of Learning, both at home and abroad. There is also an account of him given by Mackenzie, in his Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scotish nation. To these we may add an Impartial History of Servetus, &c. written by an anonymous author, and published at London in 1724.

It is impossible to justify the conduct of Calvin in the case of Servetus, whose death will be an indelible reproach upon the character of that great and eminent reformer. The only thing that can be alleged, not to efface, but to diminish his crime, is, that it was no easy matter for him to divest himself at once of that persecuting spirit, which had been so long nourished and strengthened by the popish religion in which he was educated. It was a remaining portion of the spirit of popery in the breast of Calvin that kindled his unchristian zeal against the wretched Servetus.

concerning the universe, the nature of God, and the nature of things, which were equally strange and chimerical. Thus it is difficult to unfold, in a few words, the doctrine of this unhappy man; nor, indeed, would any detail render it intelligible in all its branches. He took it into his head that the true and genuine doctrine of Christ had been entirely lost, even before the council of Nice; and he was, moreover, of opinion, that it had never been delivered with a sufficient degree of precision and perspicuity in any period of the church. To these extravagant assertions he added another still more so, even that he himself had received a commission from above to reveal anew this divine doctrine, and to explain it to mankind. His notions with respect to the Supreme Being, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, were obscure and chimerical beyond all measure, and amounted in general to the following propositions: That "the Deity, before the creation "of the world, had produced within himself two "*personal representations* or *manners of existence*[f], "which were to be the *medium* of intercourse between "him and mortals, and by which, consequently, he "was to reveal his will, and to display his mercy "and beneficence to the children of men; that these "two representatives were the Word and the Holy "Ghost; that the former was united to the man "Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary by an "omnipotent act of the divine will; and that, on this "account, Christ might be properly called God; that "the Holy Spirit directed the course, and animated "the whole system of nature; and more especially "produced in the minds of men wise counsels, "virtuous propensities, and divine feelings; and, "finally, that these two representations were to cease "after the destruction of this terrestrial globe, and to "be absorbed into the substance of the Deity, from

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☞ [f] These representations, or manners of existence, Servetus also called œconomies, dispensations, dispositions, &c. for he often changed his terms in unfolding his visionary system.

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"which they had been formed." This is, at least, a general sketch of the doctrine of Servetus, who, however, did not always explain his system in the same manner, nor take any pains to avoid inconsistencies and contradictions; and who frequently expressed himself in such ambiguous terms, that it is extremely difficult to learn from them his true sentiments. His system of morality agreed in many circumstances with that of the Anabaptists, whom he also imitated in censuring, with the utmost severity, the custom of Infant-Baptism.

Other Anti-Trinitarians.

VI. The pompous plans of reformation, that had been formed by Servetus, were not only disconcerted, but even fell into oblivion, after the death of their author. He was, indeed, according to vulgar report, supposed to have left behind him a considerable number of disciples; and we find, in the writings of the doctors of this century, many complaints and apprehensions that seem to confirm this supposition, and would persuade us that Servetus had really founded a sect; yet, when this matter is attentively examined, there will appear just reason to doubt, whether this man left behind him any one person that might properly be called his true disciple. For those who were denominated Servetians by the theological writers of this century, not only differed from Servetus in many points of doctrine, but also varied widely from him in his opinion of the Trinity, which was the peculiar and distinguishing point of his theological system. Valentine Gentili, a Neapolitan, who suffered death at Bern in 1566, adopted the Arian hypothesis, and not that of Servetus, as many writers have imagined; for his only error consisted in this, that he considered the Son and the Holy Ghost as subordinate to the Father[s]. Nearly allied to this, was the doctrine of Matthew Gribaldi,

[s] See Bayle's Dictionary.—Spon's Hist. de Geneve, tom. ii. p. 80.—Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinit. p. 26.—Lamy's Histoire du Socinianisme, part ii. ch. vi. p. 251.—Fueslin's Reformations Beytrage, tom. v.

a lawyer, whom a timely death saved from the severity of an ecclesiastical tribunal, that was ready to pronounce sentence against him on account of his errors; for he supposed the divine nature to be divided into three eternal spirits, which were distinguished from each other, not only by number, but also by subordination [h]. It is not so easy to determine the particular charge that was brought against Alciat, a native of Piedmont, and Sylvester Tellius, who were banished from the city and territory of Geneva, in 1559; nor do we know, with certainty, the errors that were embraced by Paruta, Leonardo, and others [i], who were ranked among the followers of Servetus. It is, however, more than probable, that none of the persons now mentioned were the disciples of Servetus, or adopted the hypothesis of that visionary innovator. The same thing may be affirmed with respect to Gonesius, who is said to have embraced the doctrine of that unhappy man, and to have introduced it into Poland [k]; for, though he maintained some opinions that really resembled it in some of its points, his manner of explaining the

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[h] Sandius, p. 17.—Lamy, part ii. ch. vii.—Spon, tom. ii. p. 85. not.—Haller, in Museo Tigurino, tom. ii. p. 114.

[i] For an account of these, and other persons of the same class, see Sandius, Lamy, and also Lubieniecius' Historia Reformat. Polonicæ, lib. ii. cap. v.—There is a particular and ample account of Alciat given by Bayle, in his Dictionary; see also Spon, tom. ii.

[k] This is affirmed upon the authority of Wissowatius and Lubieniecius; but the very words of the latter will be sufficient to shew us upon what grounds. He says, "Is Serveti sententiam de præ-eminentiâ patris in patriam attulit, eamque non dissimulavit," i. e. Gonesius introduced into Poland the opinion embraced by Servetus in relation to the pre-eminence of the Father, and was by no means studious to conceal it.—Who now does not see, that, if it was the *pre-eminence of the Father* that Gonesius maintained, he must have differed considerably from Servetus, whose doctrine removed all *real* distinction in the divine nature? The reader will do well to consult Sandius with regard to the sentiments of Gonesius, since it is from this writer, that Lamy has borrowed the greatest part of what he has advanced in his Histoire de Socinianisme, tom. ii. chap. x.

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mystery of the Trinity was totally different from that of Servetus.

Erroneous accounts of the origin of Socinianism.

VII. It is evident that none of the persons, now mentioned, professed the form or system of theological doctrine, that is properly called *Socinianism*, the origin of which is, by the writers of that sect, dated from the year 1546, and placed in Italy. These writers tell us, that, in this year, above forty persons eminently distinguished by their learning and genius, and still more by their generous zeal for truth, held secret assemblies, at different times, in the territory of Venice, and particularly at Vicenza, in which they deliberated upon a general reformation of the received systems of religion, and, in a more especial manner, undertook to refute the peculiar doctrines that were afterwards publicly rejected by the Socinians. They tell us farther, that the principal members of this clandestine society, were Lælius Socinus, Alciat, Ochino, Paruta, and Gentili; that their design was divulged, and their meetings were discovered, by the temerity and imprudence of some of their associates; that two of them were apprehended and put to death; while the rest, being dispersed, sought a refuge in Switzerland, Germany, Moravia, and other countries; and that Socinus, after having wandered up and down in several parts of Europe, went into Poland, first in 1551, and afterwards in 1558, and there sowed the seeds of his doctrine, which grew apace, and produced a rich and abundant harvest[1]. Such is the account of the origin

[1] See the Bibliotheca Anti-Trinit. of Sandius, who mentions some writings that are supposed to have been published by the clandestine society of pretended reformers at Venice and Vicenza, though the truth of this supposition is extremely dubious;—Andr. Wissowatii Narratio quomodo in Poloniâ Reformati ab Unitariis separati sunt, which is subjoined to the Biblioth. of Sandius.—The reader may likewise consult Lubieniecius, (Histor. Reformat. Polon. lib. ii. cap. i.) who intimates, that he took this account of the origin of Socinianism from the manuscript Commentaries of Budzinus, and his Life of Lælius Socinus. See also Sam. Przipcovius, in Vita Socini.

of Socinianism that is generally given by the writers of that sect. To assert that it is, in every circumstance, fictitious and false, would perhaps be going too far; but, on the other hand, it is easy to demonstrate that the system, commonly called Socinianism, was neither invented nor drawn up in the meetings at Venice and Vicenza [m]. CENT. XVI.

[m] See Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini, cap. ii. sect. xli. p. 321, note.—This writer seems to think that the inquiries hitherto made into this affair are by no means satisfactory; and he therefore wishes that some men of learning, equal to the task, would examine the subject anew. This, indeed, is much to be wished. In the mean time, I shall venture to offer a few observations, which may, perhaps, contribute to cast some light upon this matter. That there was in reality such a society as is mentioned in the text, is far from being improbable. Many circumstances and relations prove sufficiently, that, immediately after the Reformation had taken place in Germany, secret assemblies were holden, and measures proposed, in several provinces that were still under the jurisdiction of Rome, with a view to combat the errors and superstition of the times. It is also, in a more especial manner, probable, that the territory of Venice was the scene of these deliberations, since it is well known that a great number of the Venetians at this time, though they had no personal attachment to Luther, approved his design of reforming the corrupt state of religion, and wished well to every attempt that was made to restore Christianity to its native and primitive simplicity. It is farther highly credible, that these assemblies were interrupted and dispersed by the vigilance of the papal emissaries, and that some of their members were apprehended and put to death, while the rest saved themselves by flight. All this is probable enough; but it is extremely improbable, and utterly incredible, that all the persons who are said to have been present at these assemblies, were really so. And I therefore willingly adopt the opinion of those who affirm, that many persons, who, in after-times, distinguished themselves from the multitude by opposing the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, were considered as members of the Venetian society, by ignorant writers, who looked upon that society as the source and nursery of the whole Unitarian sect. It is certain, for instance, that Ochino is erroneously placed among the members of the famous society now mentioned; for, not to insist upon the circumstance, that it is not sufficiently clear whether he was really a Socinian or not, it undeniably appears, from the Annales Capucinorum of Boverius, as well as from other unquestionable testimonies, that he left Italy so early as the year 1543, and went to Geneva. See a singular book,

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The real origin of Socinianism.

VIII. While, therefore, we reject this inaccurate account of the matter under consideration, it is in-

entitled, La Guerre Seraphique, ou l'Histoire des Perils qu'a courus la Barbe des Capucins, livr. iii. p. 191, 216.—What I have said of Ochino may be confidently affirmed with respect to Lælius Socinus, who, though reported to have been at the head of the society now under consideration, was certainly never present at any of its meetings. For how can we suppose that a young man, only one-and-twenty years old, would leave the place of his nativity, and repair to Venice or Vicenza without any other view than the pleasure of disputing freely on certain points of religion*? Or how could it happen, that a youth of such inexperienced years should acquire such a high degree of influence and authority, as to obtain the first rank, and the principal direction, in an assembly composed of so many eminently learned and ingenious men? Besides, from the life of Lælius, which is still extant, and from other testimonies of good authority, it is easy to shew, that it was the desire of improvement, and the hope of being aided in his inquiries after truth, by the conversation of learned men in foreign nations, that induced him to leave Italy, and not the apprehension of persecution and death, as some have imagined. It is also certain, that he returned into his native country afterwards, and, in 1551, remained some time at Sienna, while his father lived at Bologna. See his letter to Bullinger, in the Museum Helveticum, tom. v. p. 489. Now surely it cannot easily be imagined, that a man in his senses would return to a country from which, a few years before, he had been obliged to fly, in order to avoid the terrors of a barbarous inquisition and a violent death.

But, waving this question for a moment, let us suppose all the accounts we have from the Socinians, concerning this famous assembly of Venice and Vicenza, and the members of which it was composed, to be true and exact; yet it remains to be proved, that the Socinian system of doctrine was invented and drawn up in that assembly. This the Socinian writers maintain; and this, as the case appears to me, may be safely denied; for the Socinian doctrine is undoubtedly of much later date than this assembly; it also passed through different hands, and was, during many years, reviewed and corrected by men of learning and genius, and thus underwent various changes and improvements before it was formed into a regular, permanent, and connected system. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to cast an eye upon the opinions, doctrines, and reasonings of several of the members of the famous society, so often mention-

☞ * Is such a supposition really so absurd? Is not a spirit of enthusiasm, or even an uncommon degree of zeal, adequate to the production of such an effect?

cumbent upon us to substitute a better in its place; and, indeed, the origin and progress of the Socinian doctrine may, I think, easily be traced out by such as are acquainted with the history of the church during this century. There were certain sects and doctors, against whom the zeal, vigilance and severity of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, were united, and, in opposing whose settlement and progress, these three communions, forgetting their dissensions, joined their most vigorous counsels and endeavours. The objects of their common aversion were the Anabaptists, and those who denied the divinity of Christ, and a trinity of persons in the Godhead. To avoid the unhappy consequences of such a formidable opposition, great numbers of both classes retired into Poland, from this persuasion, that, in a country whose inhabitants were passionately fond of freedom, religious liberty could not fail to find a refuge. However, on their first arrival, they pro- CENT. XVI.

ed; which vary in such a striking manner, as to shew manifestly that this society had no fixed views, nor had ever agreed upon any consistent form of doctrine. We learn, moreover, from many circumstances in the life and transactions of Lælius Socinus, that this man had not, when he left Italy, formed the plan of a regular system of religion; and it is well known, that, for many years afterwards, his time was spent in doubting, inquiring, and disputing; and that his ideas of religious matters were extremely fluctuating and unsettled; so that it seems probable to me, that the man died in this state of hesitation and uncertainty, before he had reduced his notions to any consistent form. As to Gribaldi and Alciat, who have been already mentioned, it is manifest that they inclined toward the Arian system, and did not entertain such low ideas of the person and dignity of Jesus Christ, as those which are adopted among the Socinians. From all this it appears abundantly evident, that these Italian reformers, if their famous society ever existed in reality (which I admit as a probable supposition, rather than as a fact sufficiently attested), were dispersed and obliged to seek their safety in a voluntary exile, before they had agreed about any regular system of religious doctrine: so that this account of the origin of Socinianism is rather imaginary than real, though it has been adopted by many writers. Fueslin has alleged several arguments against it in his German work, entitled, *Reformations Beytragen*, tom. iii. p. 327.

CENT. XVI. ceeded with circumspection and prudence, and explained their sentiments with much caution, and a certain mixture of disguise, not knowing surely what might happen, nor how far their opinions would be treated with indulgence. Thus they lived in peace and quiet during several years, mixed with the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had already obtained a solid settlement in Poland, and who admitted them into their communion, and even into the assemblies where their public deliberations were holden. They were not, however, long satisfied with this state of constraint, notwithstanding the privileges with which it was attended; but, having insinuated themselves into the friendship of several noble and opulent families, they began to act with greater spirit, and even to declare, in an open manner, their opposition to certain doctrines that were generally received among Christians. Hence arose violent contests between them and the Swiss or reformed churches, with which they had been principally connected. These dissensions drew the attention of the government, and occasioned, in 1565, a resolution of the diet of Petrikow, ordering the innovators to separate themselves from the churches already mentioned, and to form a distinct congregation or sect [n]. These founders of the Socinian church were commonly called Pinczovians, from the town in which the heads of their sect resided. Hitherto, indeed, they had not carried matters so far as they did afterwards; for they professed chiefly the Arian doctrine concerning the divine nature, maintaining that the Son and the Holy Ghost were two distinct natures, begotten by God the Father, and subordinate to him [o].

[n] Lamy's Histoire du Socinianisme, part i. chap. vi. &c. p. 16. —Stoinii Epitome Originis Unitariorum in Poloniâ, apud Sandium, p. 183.—Georg. Schomanni Testamentum, apud eundem, p. 194.—Andr. Wissowatius de Separatione Unitar. a Reformatis, p. 211.—Lubieniecius, Histor. Reformat. Polonicæ, lib. ii. cap vi. viii. lib. iii. cap i.

[o] This will appear abundantly evident to all such as consult,

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The progress of Socinianism.

IX. The Unitarians, being thus separated from the other religious societies in Poland, had many difficulties to encounter, both of an internal and external kind. From without, they were threatened with a very unfavorable prospect, arising from the united efforts of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, to crush their infant sect. From within, they dreaded the effects of intestine discord, which portended the ruin of their community before it could arrive at any measure of stability or consistence. The latter apprehension had some foundation; for, as yet, they had agreed upon no regular system of principles, which might serve as a centre and bond of union. Some of them chose to persevere in the doctrine of the Arians, and to proceed no farther; and these were called *Farnovians* [p]. Others, more adventurous, went much greater lengths, and attributed to Jesus Christ scarcely any other rank or dignity than those of a divine messenger and a true prophet. A third class, distinguished by the denomination of *Budneians* [q], went still farther; declaring that Christ was born in an ordinary way, according to the general law of nature, and that, consequently, he was no proper object of divine worship or adoration [r]. There were also among these people many fanatics, who were desirous of introducing into the society the discipline of

with a proper degree of attention, the writers mentioned in the preceding note. It is unquestionably certain, that all those, who then called themselves Unitarian Brethren, did not entertain the same sentiments concerning the Divine Nature. Some of the most eminent doctors of that sect adopted the notions relating to the person and dignity of Christ, that were in after-times peculiar to the Socinians; the greatest part of them, however, embraced the Arian system, and affirmed, that our blessed Saviour was created before the formation of the world, by God the Father, to whom he was much inferior, nevertheless, in dignity and perfection.

☞ [p] For a more particular account of the Farnovians, see sect. xxiv. of this chapter.

[q] See the part of this chapter referred to in the preceding note.

[r] Vita Andr. Wissowatii in Sandii Biblioth. p. 226; also Sandius in Simone Budnæo, p. 54.

CENT. XVI. the enthusiastic Anabaptists; such as a community of goods, an equality of rank, and other absurdities of the same nature [s]. Such were the disagreeable and perilous circumstances in which the Unitarians were placed, during the infancy of that sect, and which, no doubt, rendered their situation extremely critical and perplexing. But they were happily extricated out of these difficulties by the dexterity and resolution of some of their doctors, whose efforts were crowned with singular success, on account of the credit and influence which they had obtained in Poland. These divines suppressed, in a little time, the factions that threatened the ruin of their community, erected flourishing congregations at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Luck, Smila [t], (a town belonging to the famous Dudith [u],) and in several other parts of Poland

[s] Lubieniecius, lib. iii. cap. xii.

[t] Mart. Adelt, Historia Arianismi Smiglensis.

[u] This Dudith, who was certainly one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century, was born at Buda, in 1533; and, after having studied in the most famous universities, and visited almost all the countries of Europe, was named to the bishopric of Tinia by the emperor Ferdinand, and made privy counsellor to that prince. He had, by the force of his genius, and the study of the ancient orators, acquired such a masterly and irresistible eloquence, that in all public deliberations he carried every thing before him. In the council to which he was sent in the name of the emperor and of the Hungarian clergy, he spoke with such energy against several abuses of the church of Rome, and particularly against the celibacy of the clergy, that the pope, being informed thereof by his legates, solicited the emperor to recall him. Ferdinand complied; but, having heard Dudith's report of what passed in that famous council, he approved his conduct, and rewarded him with the bishopric of Chonat. He afterwards married a maid of honor of the queen of Hungary, and resigned his bishopric; the emperor, however, still continued to be his friend and protector. The papal excommunication was leveled at his head; but he treated it with contempt. Tired of the fopperies and superstitions of the church of Rome, he retired to Cracow, where he publicly embraced the protestant religion, after having been for a considerable time its secret friend. It is said that he shewed some inclination toward the Socinian system. Some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain, that he afterwards changed his sentiments in tha respect. He was well acquainted with several

and Lithuania, and obtained the privilege of printing their productions, and those of their brethren, without molestation or restraint [w]. All these advantages were crowned by a signal mark of liberality and munificence which they received from Jo. Sienienius, palatine of Podolia, who gave them a settlement in the city of Racow, which he had himself built, in 1569, in the district of Sendomir [x]. This extraordinary favor was peculiarly adapted to better the state of the Unitarians, who were, at that time, scattered about in the midst of their enemies; and accordingly they now looked upon their religious establishment as permanent and stable, and presumed so far upon their good fortune, as to declare Racow the centre of their community, where their distant and dispersed members might unite their counsels, and hold their deliberations. CENT. XVI.

X. When they saw their affairs in this promising situation, the first thing that employed the attention and zeal of their doctors and spiritual rulers, was a translation of the Bible into the Polish language, which was accordingly published in 1572. They had, indeed, before this, a Polish version of the sacred writings, which they had composed jointly with the Helvetic doctors, in 1565, while they lived in communion with that church: but, after the breach of that communion, and the order they had received to separate themselves from the reformed church, this version lost its credit among them, as it did not seem proper to answer their views [y]. After they had A summary view of that religion.

branches of philosophy and the mathematics, with physic, history, theology, and the civil law. He was such an enthusiastic admirer of Cicero, that he copied over three times, with his own hand, all the works of that immortal author. He had something majestic his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was egular and virtuous, his manners were elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive.

[w] Sandii Biblioth. p. 201.

[x] Sandius, p. 201. Lubieniecius, p. 239.

[y] See a German work of Ringeltaube, entitled, Von den Pohlnischen Bibeln, p 90, 113, 142, in which there is a farther account of the Polish interpretations of the Bible composed by Socinian authors.

CENT. XVI. finished their new version, they drew up a summary of their religious doctrine, which was published at Cracow, in 1574, under the title of *Catechism* or *Confession* of the *Unitarians* [z]. The system of reli-

[z] From this little performance, and indeed from it alone, we may learn with certainty the true state of the Unitarian religion before Faustus Socinus; yet I do not find that it has been so much as once quoted, or even mentioned by any of the Socinian writers, by any historians who have given an account of their sect, or by any of the divines that have drawn the pen of controversy against their religious system. I am almost inclined to believe, that the Socinians (when in process of time they had gained ground, acquired more dexterity in the management of their affairs, and drawn up a new, specious, and artful summary of their doctrine) were prudent enough to desire that this primitive catechism should disappear, that it might not furnish their adversaries with an occasion of accusing them of inconstancy in abandoning the tenets of their ancestors, nor excite factions and divisions among themselves, by inducing any of their people to complain that they had deviated from the ancient simplicity of the founders of their sect. These reasons, very probably, engaged the Socinian doctors to buy up all the copies they could find of this Confession, with a view to bury it in oblivion. It will not, therefore, be improper to give here some account of the form and matter of this first Socinian creed, which contained the doctrine of that sect before the Racovian Catechism was composed. This account will throw new light upon a period and branch of ecclesiastical history that are highly interesting. The original catechism now under consideration, which is extremely rare, has the following title prefixed to it: "Catechism, or Confession of Faith of the Congregation assembled in Poland, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified, and raised from the dead—Deuter. vi. Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God—John viii. 54. It is my Father—of whom ye say that he is your God. Printed by Alexander Turobinus, born in the year of Christ, the Son of God, 1574 [1]." We find, by a passage at the end of the preface, that this curious catechism was printed at Cracow; for it is said to have been published in that city, in the year 1574 from the birth of Christ. Now it is known that the Unitarians had, at that time, a printing-house at Cracow, which was, soon after, removed to Racow.

[1] The original title runs thus: "Catechesis et Confessio fidei cœtus per Poloniam congregati in nomine Jesu Christi, Domini nostri crucifixi et resuscitati. Deut. vi. Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus noster Deus unus est. Johan. viii. dicit Jesus, Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est pater meus. Typis Alexandri Turobini, anno nati Jesu Christi, filii Dei, 1574."

gion that is contained in this catechism, is remarkable for its simplicity, and is neither loaded with CENT. XVI.

Turobinus, who is said to have been the printer of this little production, is mentioned by Sandius, under the denomination of Turobinczyck, which he undoubtedly derived from Turobin, a town in the Palatinate of Chelm, in Little or Red Russia, which was the place of his nativity. The author of this catechism was the famous George Schoman, as has been evidently proved from a piece entitled Schomanni Testamentum [2], and other circumstances, by Jo. Adam Möllerus, in his Dissert. de Unitariorum Catechesi et Confessione omnium primâ [3]. The preface, composed in the name of the whole congregation, begins with the following salutation: "To all those who thirst after eternal salvation, the little and afflicted flock in Poland, which is baptized in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, sendeth greeting, praying most earnestly that grace and peace may be shed upon them by the one supreme God and Father, through his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified [4]." After this general salutation, the prefacers give an account of the reasons that engaged them to compose and publish this confession. The principal motives arose from the reproaches and aspersions that were cast upon the Anabaptists in several places; from which we learn, that, at this time, the denomination of Anabaptists was given to those, who, in after-times, were called Socinians. The rest of this preface is employed in beseeching the reader to be firmly persuaded, that the designs of the congregation are pious and upright, to read with attention, that he may judge with discernment, and, "abandoning the doctrine of Babylon, and the conduct and conversation of Sodom, to take refuge in the ark of Noah," i. e. among the Unitarian Brethren.

In the beginning of the catechism itself, the whole doctrine of Christianity is reduced to six points. The first relates to the nature of God and his Son Jesus Christ; the second to justification; the third to discipline; the fourth to prayer; the fifth to baptism; and the sixth to the Lord's supper. These six points are explained at length, in the following manner. Each point

[2] This testament is published by Sandius, in his Bibliotheca Anti-Trin.

[3] The dissertation of Möllerus is to be found in a collection of pieces published by Bartholomœus under the following title: "Fortgesezten nutzlichen Anmerckungen von allerhand Materien," part xxi. p. 758.

[4] Omnibus salutem æternam sitientibus, gratiam ac pacem ab uno illo altissimo Deo patre, per unigenitum ejus filium, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum crucifixum, ex animo precatur cœtus exiguus et afflictus per Poloniam, in nomine ejusdem Christi Nazareni baptizatus.

CHAP. XII. scholastic terms nor with subtile discussions; but it breathes, in several places, the spirit of Socinianism,

is defined and unfolded, in general terms, in one question and answer, and is afterwards subdivided into its several branches in various questions and answers, in which its different parts are illustrated and confirmed by texts of Scripture. From this it appears, at first sight, that the primitive state of Socinianism was a state of real infancy and weakness; that its doctors were by no means distinguished by the depth or accuracy of their theological knowlege; and that they instructed their flock in a superficial manner, by giving them only some vague notions of certain leading doctrines and precepts of religion. In their definition of the nature of God, with which this catechism begins, the authors discover immediately their sentiments concerning Jesus Christ, by declaring that he is subject, with 'all other things,' to the Supreme Creator of the universe. It may also be observed, as a proof of the ignorance or negligence of these authors, that, in illustrating the nature and perfections of the Deity, they make not the least mention of his infinity, his omniscience, immensity, eternity, omnipotence, omnipresence, spirituality, or of those other perfections of the divine nature that surpass the comprehension of finite minds. Instead of this, they characterise the Supreme Being only by his wisdom, his immortality, his goodness, and unbounded dominion and empire over the creatures. By this it would seem, that, even at this early period of Socinianism, the rulers of that sect had adopted it as a maxim, that nothing incomprehensible or mysterious was to be admitted into their religious system.—Their erroneous notion concerning Christ is expressed in the following terms: "Our mediator before the throne of God is a man who was formerly promised to our fathers by the prophets, and was born in these latter days of the seed of David, and whom God the Father has made Lord and Christ; that is, the most perfect prophet, the most holy priest, and the most triumphant king, by whom he created the *new* world [5], by whom he sent peace upon earth, restored all things, and reconciled them to himself; and by whom also he has bestowed eternal life upon his elect, to the end that, after the Supreme God, we should believe in him, adore and invoke him, hear his voice, imitate his example, and find in

[5] This expression is remarkable; for these doctors maintained, that these declarations of Scripture, which represent the world as formed by Christ, do not relate to the visible world, but to the restoration of mankind to virtue and happiness by the Son of God. They invented this interpretation to prevent their being obliged to acknowlege the divine glory and creative power of Christ.

even in those parts of it which its authors look upon as most important and fundamental. Nor will this CENT. XVI.

him rest to our souls[6]." It is here worthy of notice, that, although they call Christ *a most holy priest*, and justify this title by citations from Scripture, they no where explain the nature of that priesthood which they attribute to him.—With respect to the Holy Ghost, they plainly deny his being a divine *person*, and represent him as nothing more than a divine *quality*, or virtue, as appears from the following passage: "The Holy Ghost is the energy or perfection of God, whose fullness God the Father bestowed upon his only begotten Son, our Lord, that we, becoming his adopted children, might receive of his fullness[7]." —They express their sentiments of justification in the ensuing terms: "Justification consists in the remission of all our past sins, through the mere grace and mercy of God, in, and by our Lord Jesus Christ, without our merits and works, and in consequence of a lively faith; as also in the certain hope of life eternal, and the true and unfeigned amendment of our lives and conversation, through the assistance of the divine Spirit, to the glory of God the Father, and the edification of our neighbours[8]." As by this inaccurate definition justification comprehends in it amendment and obedience, so, in the explication of this point, our authors break in upon the following one, which relates to discipline, and lay down a short summary of moral doctrine, which is contained in a few precepts, and expressed for the most part in the language of Scripture. There is this peculiarity in their moral injunctions, that they prohibit the taking of oaths and the repelling of injuries. As to what regards ecclesiastical discipline, they define it thus: "Ecclesiastical discipline consists in calling frequently, to the remembrance of every individual, the duties that are incumbent upon him; in

[6] Est homo, mediator noster apud Deum, patribus olim per prophetas promissus, et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum prophetam, sanctissimum sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem mundum creavit, omnia restauravit, secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam æternam electis suis donavit; ut in illum, post Deum altissimum, credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitemur, et, in illo, requiem animabus nostris inveniamus.

[7] Spiritus sanctus est virtus Dei, cujus plenitudinem dedit Deus pater filio suo unigenito, Domino nostro, ut ex ejus plenitudine nos adoptivi acciperemus.

[8] Justificatio est ex merâ gratiâ, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in vivâ fide remissio, vitæque æternæ indubitata expectatio, et auxilio spiritus Dei vitæ nostræ non simulata sed vera correctio, ad gloriam Dei patris nostri et ædificationem proximorum nostrorum,

CENT. XVI. appear surprising to those who consider, that the papers of Lælius Socinus, which he undoubtedly left

admonishing, first privately, and afterwards, if that be ineffectual, in a public manner, before the whole congregation, such as have sinned openly against God, or offended their neighbour; and, lastly, in excluding from the communion of the church the obstinate and impenitent, that, being thus covered with shame, they may be led to repentance, or, if they remain unconverted, may be damned eternally [9]." By their farther explication of the point relating to ecclesiastical discipline, we see how imperfect and incomplete their notions of that matter were. For they treat, in the first place, concerning the government of the church and its ministers, whom they divide into bishops, deacons, elders, and widows. After this they enumerate, at length, the duties of husbands and wives, old and young, parents and children, masters and servants, citizens and magistrates, poor and rich; and conclude with what relates to the admonition of offenders, and their exclusion from the communion of the church, in case of obstinate impenitence. Their sentiments concerning prayer, are, generally speaking, sound and rational. But, in their notion of baptism, they differ from other Christian churches in this, that they make it to consist in immersion or dipping, and emersion or rising again out of the water, and maintain that it ought not to be administered to any but adult persons. "Baptism," say they, "is the immersion into water, and the emersion of one who believes in the Gospel, and is truly penitent, performed in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in the name of Jesus Christ alone; by which solemn act the person baptized publicly acknowlegeth, that he is cleansed from all his sins, through the mercy of God the Father, by the blood of Christ, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, to the end that, being engrafted into the body of Christ, he may mortify the old Adam, and be transformed into the image of the new and heavenly Adam, in the firm assurance of eternal life after the resurrection [10]." The last point handled in this

[9] Disciplina ecclesiastica est officii singulorum frequens commemoratio, et peccantium contra Deum vel proximum primum privata, deinde etiam publica, coram toto cœtu, commonefactio, denique pertinacium a communione sanctorum alienatio, ut pudore suffusi convertantur, aut, si id nolint, æternùm damnentur.

[10] Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis et pœnitentiam agentis in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi, in aquam immersio et emersio, quâ publice profitetur, se gratiâ Dei Patris, in sanguine Christi, operâ Spiritus Sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut, in corpus Christi insertus, mortificet veterem Adamum, et transformetur in Adamum illum cœlestem, certus, se post resurrectionem consequuturum esse vitam æternam.

behind him in Poland, were in the hands of many; and that, by the perusal of them, the Arians, who had formerly the upper hand in the community of the Unitarians, were engaged to change their sentiments concerning the nature and mediation of Christ [a]. It is true, indeed, that the denomination of *Socinian* was not as yet known. Those who were afterwards distinguished by this title, passed in

performance is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which the authors give an explication that will be readily adopted by those who embrace the doctrine of Zuingle on that head. At the end of this curious catechism there is a piece entitled, "Œconomia Christiana, seu Pastoratus Domesticus," which contains a short instruction to heads of families, shewing them how they ought to proceed in order to maintain and increase in their houses a spirit of piety; in which also their devotion is assisted by forms of prayer, composed for morning, evening, and other occasions.

The copy of this catechism, which is now before me, was given in 1680, by Martin Chelmius, one of the most eminent and zealous Socinian doctors, to Mr. Christopher Heiligmier, as appears by a long inscription, written by the donor, at the end of the book. In this inscription Chelmius promises his friend other productions of the same kind, provided he receives the present one kindly, and concludes with these words of St. Paul: 'God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound 'the strong.'

[a] This appears evidently from the following passage in Schoman's Testamentum, p. 194, 195. "Sub id fere tempus (A. 1566,) ex rhapsodiis Lælii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam, patri coëssentialem et coæqualem, sed hominem Jesum Christum, ex Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Virgine Mariâ natum, crucifixum, et resuscitatum: a quibus nos commoniti, sacras literas perscrutari persuasi sumus." These words shew plainly, that the Unitarians, or Pinczovians, had, before their separation from the reformed church in 1565, believed in a Trinity of some kind or other, and had not gone so far as totally to divest Jesus Christ of his divinity. Schoman, now cited, was a doctor of great authority in this sect; and he tells us that, at the diet of Petricow, in 1565, he defended the unity of God the Father against the reformed, who maintained the existence of a three-fold Deity. We learn nevertheless, from himself, that it was not till the year 1566, that a perusal of the papers of Lælius Socinus had engaged him to change his sentiments, and to deny the divine personality of Christ. Hence we may conclude, that, before the year last-mentioned, he and his Pinczovian flock were not Socinians, but Arians only.

CENT. XVI. Poland, at the time of which we now speak, under the name of Anabaptists, because they admitted to baptism adult persons only, and also rebaptized those who joined them from other Christian churches [b].

The proceedings of Faustus Socinus.

XI. The dexterity and perseverance of Faustus Socinus gave a new face to the Unitarian sect, of which he became the zealous and industrious patron. He was a man of true genius, but of little learning; firm in his purposes, and steady in his measures; much inferior in knowlege to his uncle Lælius, while he surpassed him greatly in courage and resolution. This eminent sectary, after having wandered through several countries of Europe, settled, in 1579, among the Unitarians in Poland, and, at his arrival there, suffered many vexations and much opposition from a considerable number of persons, who looked upon some of his tenets as highly erroneous. And, indeed, it is evident, that his religious system, which he is said to have drawn from the papers of Lælius, was much less remarkable for its simplicity than that of the Unitarians. He triumphed, however, at last, over all the difficulties that had been laid in his way, by the power of his eloquence, the spirit and address that reigned in his compositions, the elegance and gentleness of his manner, the favor and protection of the nobility, which he had acquired by his happy talents and accomplishments, and also by some lucky hits of fortune. By seising the occasions when it was prudent to yield, and improving the moments that demanded bold resistance and firm resolution, he stemmed dexterously and courageously the torrent of opposition, and beheld the Unitarians submitting to his doctrine, which they had before treated with indignation and contempt. They, in effect, laid

[b] This the Unitarians acknowlege, and it is confirmed by the writer of the Epistola de Vitâ Andr. Wissowatii, who tells us, that his sect were distinguished by the denomination of Anabaptists and Arians, but that all other Christian communities and individuals in Poland were promiscuously called Chrzesciani, from the word Chrzest, which signifies Baptism.

aside all feuds and controversies, and formed themselves into one community under his superintendency and direction [c]. CENT. XVI.

XII. Thus did Socinus introduce a considerable change into the ancient Unitarian system, which, before his time, was ill digested, ill expressed, and chargeable in many places with ambiguity and incoherence. He disguised its inconsistencies, gave it an air of connexion, method, and elegance, and defended it with much more dexterity and art, than had ever been discovered by its former patrons [d]. And, accord- The Unitarian religion changed by Socinus.

[c] See Bayle's Dictionary.—Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trin. p. 64. —Sam. Przypcopii Vita Socini, prefixed to the works of Socinus. —Lamy's Histoire du Socinianisme, part i. ii.

[d] Hence it appears, that the modern Unitarians are very properly called Socinians; for certainly the formation and establishment of that sect were entirely owing to the labors of Lælius and Faustus Socinus. The former, indeed, who was naturally timorous and irresolute, died at Zurich, in 1562, in the communion of the reformed church, and seemed unwilling to expose himself to danger, or to sacrifice his repose, by founding a new sect, that is, by appearing professedly and openly in this enterprise. Besides, many circumstances concur to render it highly probable, that he did not finish the religious system of which he had formed the plan, but died, on the contrary, in a state of uncertainty and doubt with respect to several points of no small importance. But, notwithstanding all this, he contributed much to the institution of the sect now under consideration. He collected the materials that Faustus afterwards digested and employed with such dexterity and success: he secretly and imperceptibly excited doubts and scruples in the minds of many, concerning several doctrines generally received among Christians; and, by several arguments against the divinity of Christ, which he left in writing, he so far seduced, even after his death, the Arians in Poland, that they embraced the communion and sentiments of those who looked upon Christ as a mere man, created immediately, like Adam, by God himself. What Lælius had thus begun, Faustus carried on with vigor, and finished with success. It is indeed difficult, and scarcely possible, to determine precisely, what materials he received from his uncle, and what tenets he added himself; that he added several is plain enough. The difficulty arises from this circumstance, that there are few writings of Lælius extant; and of those that bear his name, some undoubtedly belong to other authors. We learn, however, from Faustus himself, that the doctrine he propagated, with respect to the person of Christ, was (at least, the greatest part of it) broached by Lælius.

CENT. XVI. ingly, the affairs of the Unitarians put on a new face. Under the auspicious protection of such a spirited and insinuating chief, the little flock, that had been hitherto destitute of strength, resolution, and courage, grew apace, and suddenly arose to a high degree of credit and influence. Its number was augmented by proselytes of all ranks and orders. Of these some were distinguished by their nobility, others by their opulence, some by their address, and many by their learning and eloquence. All these contributed, in one way or another, to increase the lustre, and to advance the interests of this rising community, and to support it against the multitude of adversaries, which its remarkable prosperity and success had raised up against it from all quarters; the rich maintained it by their liberality, the powerful by their patronage and protection, and the learned by their writings. But now the system of the Unitarians, being thus changed and new-modeled, required a new confession of faith to make known its principles, and give a clear and full account of its present state. The ancient catechism, which was no more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was therefore laid aside, and a new form of doctrine was drawn up by Socinus himself. This form was corrected by some, augmented by others, and revised by all the Socinian doctors of any eminence; and, having thus acquired a competent degree of accuracy and perfection, was published under the title of the Catechism of Racow, and is still considered as the Confession of Faith of the whole sect. An unexpected circumstance crowned all the fortunate events that had happened to this sect, and seemed to leave them nothing farther to desire; and this was the zealous protection of Jacobus à Sienno, to whom Racow belonged. This new patron, separating himself from the reformed church, in 1600, embraced the doctrine and communion of the Socinians, and, about two years after, erected in his own city, which he declared their metropolis, a public

school, designed as a seminary for their church, to form its ministers and pastors [e]. CENT. XVI.

The propagation of Socinianism in Transylvania and Hungary;

XIII. From Poland, the doctrine of Socinus made its way into Transylvania, in 1563, principally by the credit and influence of George Blandrata, a celebrated physician, whom Sigismund, at that time sovereign of the country, had invited to his court, in order to the restoration of his health. Blandrata was a man of uncommon address, had a deep knowlege of men and things, and was particularly acquainted with the manners, transactions, and intrigues of courts. He was accompanied by a Socinian minister, whose name was Francis Davides, who seconded his efforts with such zeal, that, by their united solicitations and labors, they engaged the prince, and the greatest part of the nobility, in their cause, infected almost the whole province with their errors, and obtained, for the ministers and members of their communion, the privilege of professing and propagating their doctrines in a public manner. The Bathori, indeed, who were afterwards chosen dukes of Transylvania, were by no means prejudiced in favor of the Socinians; but that sect had become so powerful by its numbers and its influence, that they could not, in prudence, attempt to suppress it [f]. Such also was the case with the successors of the Bathori; they ardently wished to extirpate this society, but never could accomplish that object; so that to this day the Socinians profess their religion publicly in this province, and, indeed, in it alone; and, relying on the protection of the laws, and the faith of certain treaties that have been adjusted with them, have their churches and seminaries of learning, and hold their ecclesiastical and religious assemblies, though exposed to perpetual dangers and snares from the vigilance of their

[e] See Wissowatii Narratio de Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis, p. 214.—Lubieniecius, lib. iii. cap. xii.

[f] See Sandius, p. 28, 55.—Salig, vol. ii. lib. vi.—Debrezeni Hist. Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungariâ, p. 147.—Mart. Schmeizelii de Statu Eccles. Lutheranæ in Transylvaniâ, p. 55.—Lamy, Hist. du Socinianisme, part i. ch. xiii.

CENT. XVI. adversaries[g]. About the same time the Socinians endeavoured to form settlements in Hungary[h] and Austria[i]; but these attempts were defeated by the united and zealous opposition both of the Roman catholic and reformed churches.

in Holland and England.

XIV. No sooner had the Socinians obtained a solid and happy settlement at Racow, than the dictates of zeal and ambition suggested to them views of a still more extensive nature. Encouraged by the protection of men in power, and the suffrages of men of learning and genius, they began to form several plans for the enlargement of their community, and meditated nothing less than the propagation of their doctrine through all the states of Europe. The first step they took toward the execution of this purpose, was the publication of a considerable number of books, of which some were designed to illustrate and defend their theological system, and others to explain, or rather to pervert, the sacred writings into a conformity with their peculiar tenets. These books, which were composed by the most subtile and artful doctors of the sect, were printed at Racow, and dispersed with the utmost industry and zeal through different countries[k]. They also sent some of their brethren into various parts of Europe, toward the conclusion of this century, as we learn from authentic records, in order to make proselytes and erect new congregations. These missionaries seemed every way qualified to gain credit to the cause in which they had embarked, as some of them were distinguished by the

[g] Zeltneri Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini, cap. ii. p. 357.

[h] Debrezeni Hist. p. 169.

[i] Henr. Spondani Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad An. 1568.

[k] A considerable number of these books were republished, in 1656, in one great collection, consisting of six volumes in folio, under the title of Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum. In this collection, indeed, many pieces are not inserted, which were composed by the most eminent leaders of the sect; but what is there published, is sufficient to give the attentive reader a clear idea of the doctrine of the Socinians, and of the nature of their institution as a religious community.

lustre of their birth, and others by the extent of their learning, and the powers of their eloquence; and yet, notwithstanding these uncommon advantages, they failed, almost every where, in their attempts. A small congregation was founded at Dantzic, which subsisted for some time in a clandestine manner, and then gradually dwindled to nothing[l]. The first attempts to promote the cause of Socinianism in Holland, were made by a person whose name was Erasmus Johannis[m]. After him Christopher Ostorod, and Andrew Voidovius, who were the main pillars of the sect, used their utmost endeavours to gain disciples and followers in that country; nor were their labors wholly unsuccessful, though the zeal of the clergy, and the vigilance of the magistrates, prevented their forming any regular assemblies[n], and thus hindered their party from acquiring any considerable degree of strength and stability[o]. Socinianism did not meet with a better reception in Britain than in Holland. It was introduced into Germany by Adam Neuser, and other emissaries, who infected the Palatinate with its errors, having entered into a league with the Transylvanians, at the critical period when the affairs of the Unitarians, in Poland, carried a dubious and unpromising aspect. But this pernicious league was soon detected, and the schemes of its authors were entirely disconcerted; upon which Neuser went into Turkey, and enlisted among the Janisaries[p].

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[l] Zeltneri Hist. p. 199.

[m] Sandius, p. 87.

☞ [n] Brandt, in his History of the Reformation of the Netherlands, tells us, that Ostorod and Voidovius were banished, and that their books were condemned to be publicly burned by the hands of the common hangman. Accordingly the pile was raised, the executioner approached, and the multitude was assembled; but the books did not appear. The magistrates, who were curious to peruse their contents, had quietly divided them among themselves and their friends.

[o] Zeltnerus, p. 31, 178.

[p] Burch. Struvii Hist. Eccles. Palat. cap. viii. sect. liii.—Alting, Hist. Eccles. Palat. in Miegii Monum. Palat. p. 266,—

CENT. XVI.

The main principle of Socinianism.

XV. Although the Socinians profess to believe that our divine knowlege is derived solely from the Holy Scriptures, they maintain in reality, that the sense of Scripture is to be investigated and explained by the dictates of right reason, to which, in consequence, they attribute a great influence in determining the nature, and unfolding the various doctrines of religion. When their writings are perused with attention, they will be found to attribute more to reason, in this matter, than most other Christian societies; for they frequently insinuate artfully, and sometimes declare plainly, that the sacred penmen were guilty of many errors, from a defect of memory, as well as a want of capacity; that they expressed their sentiments without perspicuity or precision, and rendered the plainest things obscure by their pompous and diffuse Asiatic style; and that it was therefore absolutely necessary to employ the lamp of human reason to cast a light upon their doctrine, and to explain it in a manner conformable to truth. It is easy to see what they had in view by maintaining propositions of this kind. They aimed at nothing less than the establishment of the following general rule, viz. That the history of the Jews, and also that of Jesus Christ, were indeed to be derived from the books of the Old and New Testament, and that it was not lawful to entertain the least doubt concerning the truth of this history, or the authenticity of these books in general; but that the particular doctrines which they contain, were, nevertheless, to be understood and explained in such a manner as to render them consonant with the dictates of reason. According to this representation of things, it is not the Scripture that declares clearly and expressly what we are to believe concerning the nature, counsels, and perfections of the Deity; but it is human reason, which shows us the

337.—La Croze, Dissertations Historiques, tom. i. p. 101, 127. compared with Bern. Raupachius' Presbyterologia Austriaca, p. 113, where there is an account of John Matthæus, who was concerned in these troubles.

system of religion that we ought to seek in, and deduce from, the divine oracles.

The dangerous consequences of this principle.

XVI. This fundamental principle of Socinianism will appear more dangerous and pernicious, when we consider the sense in which the word *Reason* was understood by this sect. The pompous title of *Right Reason* was given, by the Socinians, to that measure of intelligence and discernment, or, in other words, to that faculty of comprehending and judging, which we derive from nature. According to this definition, the fundamental rule of Socinianism necessarily supposes, that no doctrine ought to be acknowleged as true in its nature, or divine in its origin, all whose parts are not level to the comprehension of the human understanding; and that, whatever the Scriptures teach concerning the perfections of God, his counsels, and decrees, and the way of salvation, must be modified, curtailed, and filed down, in such a manner, by the transforming power of art and argument, as to answer the extent of our limited faculties. Those who adopt this singular rule, must at the same time grant that the number of religions must be nearly equal to that of individuals; for, as there is a great variety in the talents and capacities of different persons, so what will appear difficult and abstruse to one, will seem evident and clear to another; and thus the more discerning and penetrating will adopt, as divine truth, what the slow and superficial will look upon as unintelligible jargon. This consequence does not at all alarm the Socinians, who suffer their members to explain, in very different ways, many doctrines of the highest importance, and permit every one to follow his particular fancy in composing his theological system, provided that they acknowlege, in general, the truth and authenticity of the history of Christ, and adhere to the precepts which the Gospel lays down for the regulation of our lives and actions.

The sum and substance of Socinianism.

XVII. In consequence of this leading maxim, the Socinians either reject without exception, or change

CENT. XVI. and accommodate to their limited capacities, all those doctrines relating to the nature of God and of Jesus Christ, the plan of redemption, and the eternal rewards and punishments unfolded in the Gospel, which they either cannot comprehend, or consider as attended with considerable difficulties. The sum of their theology is as follows: "God, who is infinitely more perfect than man, though of a similar "nature in some respects, exerted an act of that "power by which he governs all things; in consequence of which an extraordinary person was born "of the Virgin Mary. That person was Jesus Christ, "whom God first translated to heaven by that portion of his divine power, which is called the Holy "Ghost; and, having there instructed him fully in "the knowlege of his will, counsels, and designs, he "sent him again into this sublunary world, to promulgate to mankind a new rule of life, more "excellent than that under which they had formerly "lived, to propagate divine truth by his ministry, "and to confirm it by his death.

"Those who obey the voice of this Divine Teacher "(and this obedience is in the power of every one "whose will and inclination lead that way), shall "one day be clothed with new bodies, and inhabit "eternally those blessed regions, where God himself "immediately resides. Such, on the contrary, as are "disobedient and rebellious, shall undergo most terrible and exquisite torments, which shall be succeeded "by annihilation, or the total extinction of their "being."

The whole system of Socinianism, when stripped of the embellishments and commentaries with which it has been loaded and disguised by its doctors, is really reducible to the few propositions now mentioned.

The moral doctrine of the Socinians.

XVIII. The nature and genius of the Socinian theology have an immediate influence upon the moral system of that sect, and naturally lead its doctors to confine their rules of morality and virtue

to the *external* actions and duties of life. On one hand, they deny the influence of a divine spirit and power upon the minds of men; and, on the other, they acknowlege, that no mortal has such an empire over himself as to be able to suppress or extinguish his sinful propensities and corrupt desires. Hence they have no conclusion left but one, and that is, to declare all such true and worthy Christians, whose words and external actions are conformable to the precepts of the divine law. It is, at the same time, remarkable, that another branch of their doctrine leads directly to the utmost severity in what relates to life and manners, since they maintain, that the great end of Christ's mission upon earth was to exhibit to mortals a new law, distinguished from all others by its unblemished sanctity and perfection. Hence it is, that a great number of the Socinians have fallen into the fanatical rigor of the ancient Anabaptists, and judge it absolutely unlawful to repel injuries, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishments on malefactors, to oppose the despotic proceedings of tyrannical magistrates, or even to acquire wealth by honest industry. But, in this, there is something extremely singular, and they are here, indeed, inconsistent with themselves; for while, in matters of doctrine, they take the greatest liberty with the expressions of Scripture, and pervert them, in a violent manner, to the defence of their peculiar tenets, they proceed quite otherwise, when they come to prescribe rules of conduct from the precepts of the Gospel; for then they understand these precepts literally, and apply them without the least distinction of times, persons, and circumstances. CENT. XVI.

XIX. It must carefully be observed, that the Catechism of Racow, which most people look upon as the great standard of Socinianism, and as an accurate summary of the doctrine of that sect, is, in reality, no more than a collection of the popular tenets of the Socinians, and by no means a just representation of the secret opinions and sentiments of their The Catechism of Racow.

CENT. XVI. doctors [q]. The writings, therefore, of these learned men must be perused with attention, in order to our knowing the hidden reasons and true principles from which the doctrines of the Catechism are derived. It is observable, besides, that, in this catechism, many Socinian tenets and institutions, which might have contributed to render the sect still more odious, and to expose its internal constitution too much to public view, are entirely omitted; so that it seems to have been less composed for the use of the Socinians themselves, than to impose upon strangers, and to mitigate the indignation which the tenets of this community had excited in the minds of many [r]. Hence it never obtained, among the Socinians, the authority of a public confession or rule of faith; and hence the divines of that sect were authorised to correct and contradict it, or to substitute another form of doctrine in its place. It is also observable, that the most eminent writers and patrons of the Socinians, give no clear or consistent account of the sentiments of that sect in relation to ecclesiastical discipline and government, and the form of public worship. All that we know is, that they follow in these matters, generally speaking, the customs received in the protestant churches [s].

[q] We have an account of the authors of this famous catechism, and of the various success it met with, in the Commentatio de Catechesi Recoviensi, published by Schmidius in 1707. See also Kocheri Biblioth.—A new edition of the catechism itself, with a solid refutation of the doctrine it contains, was published in 1739, by the learned George Louis Oeder.

[r] This appears evident enough from their presenting a Latin translation of this catechism to James I. king of Great Britain, and a German one to the university of Wittenberg.

[s] This is manifest from a work which bears the following title: "Politia Ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma Regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Poloniâ, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per filium ejus Unigenitum in Spiritu Sancto, confitentur." This work was composed in 1642 by Peter Morscovius or Morscowsky, and published at Nuremberg by Oeder. It is mentioned by Sandius, who says that it was drawn up for the use of the Belgic churches.

XX. The founders and first patrons of this sect were eminently distinguished by their learning and genius. Their successors, however, did not follow their steps in this respect, nor retain the reputation they had universally obtained. The Unitarians in Poland seem to have had little ambition of science. They gave no encouragement to learning or talents; and appeared little solicitous of having in their community subtile doctors and learned disputants. But, when they perceived on the one hand, that the success of their community required as able defenders, as they had learned and ingenious adversaries, and were so fortunate, on the other, as to obtain the privilege of erecting seminaries of learning at Racow and Lublin, they changed their sentiments with respect to this matter, and became sensible of the necessity under which they lay, to encourage in their community a zeal for the sciences. This zeal increased greatly from the time that Faustus Socinus undertook the restoration of their declining credit, and put himself at the head of their tottering sect. At that time many persons, distinguished by their birth, education, and talents, embraced its doctrine, and contributed to promote the love of science among its members. Then the youth were instructed in the rules of eloquence and rhetoric, and the important branches of Oriental, Greek, and Latin literature. Even the secret paths of philosophy were opened, though their treasures were disclosed only to a few, who were selected, for that purpose, from the multitude. The Racovian doctors, in compliance with the spirit and taste of the age, chose Aristotle as their guide in philosophy, as appears evidently from the Ethics of Crellius, and other literary records of these times.

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The state of learning among the Socinians.

XXI. Notwithstanding this progress of philosophy among the Socinians, their doctors seemed to reject its aid in theology with obstinacy and disdain. They declare, in numberless places of their writings, that both in the interpretation of Scripture, and in ex-

Their method of proceeding in theology.

CENT. XVI. plaining and demonstrating the truth of religion in general, clearness and simplicity are alone to be consulted, and no regard paid to the subtilties of philosophy and logic. And, indeed, had their doctors and interpreters followed, in practice, that rule which they have laid down with so much ostentation in theory, they would have saved their adversaries, and perhaps themselves, much trouble. But this is by no means the case. For, in the greatest part of their theological productions, their pretended simplicity is frequently accompanied with much subtilty, and with the most refined intricacies of scientific art. And, what is still more inexcusable, they reason with the greatest dexterity and acuteness upon those subjects, which (as they surpass the reach of the human understanding) are generally received, among other Christians, as facts confirmed by the most respectable testimony, and consequently as matters of pure faith, while they discover little sagacity, or strength of judgement, in those discussions which are within the sphere of reason, and are properly amenable to its tribunal. They are acute where they ought to be silent, and they reason aukwardly where sagacity and argument are required. These are certainly great inconsistencies; yet they proceed from one and the same principle, even the maxim universally received in this community, that all things which surpass the limits of human comprehension are to be entirely banished from the Christian religion.

The divisions of the Socinians, and their intestine controversies.

XXII. It has been already observed, that the Unitarians had no sooner separated themselves from the Reformed churches in Poland, than they became a prey to intestine divisions, and were split into several factions. The points of doctrine that gave rise to these divisions, related to the dignity of Christ's nature and character, the unlawfulness of infant-baptism, and the personality of the Holy Ghost, to which were added several alterations, concerning the duties of life, and the rules of conduct that were obligatory on Christians. The sects, pro-

duced by these divisions, were not all equally obstinate. Some of them entertained pacific dispositions, and seemed inclined toward a reconciliation. But two, particularly, tenaciously maintained their sentiments, and persisted in their separation; these were the Budnæans and the Farnovians. The former were so called from their leader Simon Budnæus, a man of considerable acuteness and sagacity, who, more dexterous than the rest of his brethren in deducing consequences from their principles, and perceiving plainly the conclusions to which the peculiar principles of Lælius Socinus naturally led, peremptorily denied the propriety of offering any kind of religious worship to Jesus Christ. Nor did Budnæus stop here: in order to give a more specious color to this capital error, and to maintain it upon consistent grounds, he asserted that Christ was not begotten by an extraordinary act of divine power, but that he was born like other men, in a natural way. This hypothesis, however conformable to the fundamental principles of Socinianism, appeared intolerable and impious to the major part even of that community. Hence Budnæus, who had gained over to his doctrine a great number of proselytes in Lithuania and Russian Poland, was deposed from his ministerial functions, in 1584, and publicly excommunicated with all his disciples. It is said, however, that he afterwards abandoned his peculiar and offensive sentiments, and was re-admitted to the communion of that sect [t].

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Budnæans.

XXIII. This heretical doctrine, which had created

The sentiments of

[t] See Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinit. p. 54, 55.—Epistola de Vitâ Wissowatii, p. 226.—Ringeltaube's German Dissertation on the Polish Bibles, p. 144, 152.—Samuel Crellius, the most learned Socinian of our times, is of opinion that Adam Neuser *, who was banished on account of his erroneous sentiments, was the author of this doctrine, which is so derogatory from the dignity of Jesus Christ. See Crellii Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian.

* See sect. xiv. of this chapter.

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Budnæus embraced by Davides and Francken.

so much trouble to Budnæus, was soon after adopted by Francis Davides, a native of Hungary, who was the superintendant of the Socinian churches in Transylvania, and who opposed, with the greatest ardor and obstinacy, the custom of offering up prayers and divine worship to Jesus Christ. Several methods were used to reclaim him from this offensive error. Blandrata employed all the power of his eloquence for this purpose, and, to render his remonstrances still more effectual, sent for Faustus Socinus, who went accordingly into Transylvania, in 1573, and seconded his arguments and exhortations with the utmost zeal and perseverance. But Davides remained unmoved, and was, in consequence of this obstinate adherence to his error, apprehended by order of Christopher Bathori, prince of Transylvania, and thrown into prison, where he died, in 1579, at an advanced age [u]. His unhappy fate did not, however, extinguish the controversy to which his doctrine had given rise; for he left behind him disciples and friends, who strenuously maintained his sentiments, stood firm against the opposition that was made to them, and created much uneasiness to Socinus and his followers in Lithuania and Poland. The most eminent of these were Jacob Palæologus, of the isle of Chio, who was burned at Rome in 1585; Christian Francken, who had disputed in person with Socinus; and John Somer [w], who was master of the academy of Clausenburg [x]. This little sect is branded,

[u] Sandius, Biblioth. Anti-Trinit. p. 55.—Faust. Socin. oper. tom. i. p. 353, 395; tom. ii. p. 713, 771, where there is an account of his conference and dispute with Francis Davides.—Stan. Lubieniecii Histor. Reform. Polonicæ, lib. iii. c. xi.

[w] See Sandius, Biblioth. p. 57. The dispute between Socinus and Francken is related at large in the works of the former, tom. ii. p. 767.

[x] Clausenburg, otherwise Coloswar, is a town in Transylvania, extremely populous and well fortified. The Socinians have here a public school and a printing-house; and their community in this place is very numerous. Till the year 1603, they were in possession of the cathedral, which was then taken

by the Socinian writers, with the ignominious appellation of Semi-Judaizers[y]. CENT. XVI.

The Farnovian sect.

XXIV. The Farnovians were treated by the Socinians with much greater indulgence. They were neither excluded from the communion of the sect,

from them and given to the Jesuits, whose college and church they had pulled down.

[y] Faustus Socinus wrote a particular treatise against the Semi-Judaizers. It is, however, worthy of observation, that the motive which engaged him and his friends to employ so much pains and labor in the suppression of this faction, was not a persuasion of the pernicious tendency of its doctrines or peculiar notions. On the contrary, he expressly acknowleges, that this controversy turns upon matters of very little importance, by declaring it, as his opinion, that praying or offering up divine worship to Christ, is not necessary to salvation. Thus, in his answer to Wujeck, he expresses himself in the following manner: "The Christian, whose faith is so great, as to encourage him to offer his addresses habitually and directly to the Supreme Being, and who standeth not in need of the comfort that flows from the invocation of Christ, his brother, who was tempted in all things like as he is, is not obliged to call upon the name of Jesus, by prayer or supplication*." According therefore to the opinion of Socinus, those who lay aside all regard to Christ as an intercessor, and address themselves directly to God alone, have a greater measure of faith than others. But, if this be so, why did he oppose with such vehemence and animosity the sentiment of Davides, who, in effect, did no more than exhort all Christians to address themselves directly and immediately to the Father? Here there appears to be a striking inconsistency. We find also Lubieniecius, in his Reformat. Histor. Polonicæ, lib. iii. cap. xi. speaking lightly enough of this controversy, and representing it as a matter of very little moment; for he says that in Transylvania there was 'much ado about nothing †.' We may therefore conclude, that Socinus and his followers were more artful than ingenuous in their proceedings with respect to Davides. They persecuted him and his followers, lest, by tolerating his doctrine, they should increase the odium under which they already lay, and draw upon themselves anew the resentment of other Christian churches, while, in their private judgement, they looked upon this very doctrine, and its professors, as worthy of toleration and indulgence.

* Si quis tantâ est fide præditus, ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo rectà accedere audeat, nec consolatione, quæ ex Christi fratris sui per omnia tentati invocatione proficiscitur, indigeat, hic non opus habet ut Christum invocet.

† Fluctus in simpulo excitatos esse.

CENT. XVI. nor obliged to renounce their peculiar tenets; they were only exhorted to conceal them prudently, and not publish or propagate them in their discourses from the pulpit[z]. This particular branch of the Socinian community was so named from Stanislaus Farnovius, or Farnesius, who was engaged by Gonesius to prefer the Arian system to that of the Socinians, and consequently asserted, that Christ had been engendered or produced out of nothing, by the Supreme Being, before the creation of this terrestrial globe. It is not so easy to say, what his sentiments were concerning the Holy Ghost; all we know upon that head is, that he warned his disciples against paying the tribute of religious worship to that divine Spirit[a]. Farnovius separated from the other Unitarians, in 1568, and was followed in this schism by several persons eminent on account of the extent of their learning, and the influence of their rank, such as Martin Czechovicius, Neimoiovius, Stanislaus Wisnowius, John Falcon, George Schoman, and others. They did not, however, form themselves into a stable or permanent sect. The lenity and indulgence of the Socinians, together with the dexterity of their disputants, brought many of them back into the bosom of the community they had deserted, and considerable numbers were dispersed or regained by the prudence and address of Faustus Socinus; so that at length the whole faction, being deprived of its chief, who died in 1615, was scattered abroad, and reduced to nothing[b].

[z] Epistola de Vitâ Wissowatii, p. 226.—Sandius says, that a professor of divinity at Clausenburg was prohibited from saying any thing, in his public discourses, of Christ's having existed before the Virgin Mary.

[a] Sandius, Biblioth. p. 52, &c.

[b] We omit here an enumeration of the more famous Socinian writers who flourished in this century, because the greater part of them have already been mentioned in the course of this History. The rest may be easily collected from Sandius.

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